

A grammar sketch of Batuley:
An Austronesian language of Aru,
eastern Indonesia



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Cover photograph of Benjuring village by Benjamin T. Daigle

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. All errors are my own.

Eg tamata damdam Gwatle kal
Untuk penduduk Batuley
For the Batuley people

Tuf i ja arna tuf i
Satu generasi mengajar kepada generasi berikutnya
-Pepatah Batuley
From one generation to another
-Batuley proverb

Abstract

This thesis is an introductory description of the Batuley language (ISO 639-3: bay). Batuley is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 4000 people in seven low-lying island villages on the eastern side of the Aru Islands in the province of Maluku in eastern Indonesia. Some minor differences in accent and vocabulary exist between the Batuley villages. This thesis concentrates primarily on the variety of the two most northern Batuley villages of Kabalsiang and Benjuring. The topics covered in this grammatical sketch include phonology (chapter 2), verbal morphology (chapter 3), nouns, noun phrases and pronouns (chapter 4), the clause (chapter 5), clause combining (chapter 6), serial verbs and related constructions (chapter 7), and functions of reduplication (chapter 8). The appendices contain a Batuley-English glossary and two transcribed texts.

Batuley has five vowel phonemes and fifteen consonant phonemes. Verbs, nouns and numerals exhibit root mutations which are conditioned by suffixation. Batuley is an agglutinating language. Synchronically, there are numerous sets of suffixes for verbs, nouns and numerals. Batuley has semantic alignment in its verbal agreement system based on an active-stative split. While A and S_A are coded with agreement prefixes, (most) S_P are coded with agreement suffixes. P is also coded with suffixes, but these are pronominal markers rather than agreement markers. Nouns are divided into two genders: ANIMATE and INANIMATE. Noun class gender is only evident on the targets of gender marking. The gender system has a strong semantic basis. Demonstratives make a four-way distinction between proximal visible, medial visible, distal visible, and non-visible. Batuley has a base-10 numeral system with complex numerals for ‘seven’ and ‘eight’ and irregular forms for ‘ten’, ‘twenty’ and ‘thirty’. The possessive classification system is labile in that some nouns can be either alienably or inalienably possessed or both. Serial verb constructions are widespread. The line between serial verbs and prepositions is blurry. There are several different functions of reduplication in Batuley, and it is especially common in modifier formation. The topics presented in this thesis illustrate several major features of the language and highlight subjects for future investigation particularly in the area of cross-linguistic research.

Abstrak

(Indonesian abstract – translated by Jermy Balukh)

Tesis ini merupakan deskripsi awal tentang bahasa Batuley (ISO 639-3: bay). Batuley merupakan salah satu bahasa rumpun Austronesia dengan jumlah penutur sekitar 4000 orang yang bermukim di tujuh daerah perkampungan di bagian timur Pulau Aru, Provinsi Maluku, Indonesia Timur. Di antara daerah-daerah di Batuley tersebut, terdapat beberapa perbedaan dalam hal aksentuasi dan kosakata. Tesis ini menyoroti khususnya variasi bahasa pada dua daerah di bagian paling utara Batuley, yaitu Kabalsiang dan Benjuring. Tatabahasa sekilas ini mencakup fonologi (Bab 2), morfologi verba (Bab 3), nomina, frasa nomina, dan pronomina (Bab 4), klausa (Bab 5), dan klausa majemuk (Bab 6), verba rangkap dan konstruksi terkait (Bab 7), dan fungsi reduplikasi (Bab 8). Lampiran mencakup glosarium bahasa Batuley-Inggris dan dua teks yang ditranskripsi.

Bahasa Batuley memiliki lima fonem vokal dan 15 fonem konsonan. Verba, nomina dan numeralia menunjukkan adanya mutasi akar kata yang mengikuti syarat sufiksasi. Batuley merupakan bahasa aglutinasi. Secara sinkronis, terdapat sejumlah sufiks untuk verba, nomina, dan numeralia. Batuley memiliki aliansi semantis pada sistem persesuaian verba berdasarkan struktur alir aktif-statif. Jika S dan S_A menggunakan prefiks persesuaian, maka (kebanyakan) S_P menggunakan sufiks persesuaian. P juga menggunakan sufiks tetapi sufiks-sufiks tersebut merupakan pemarkah pronomina, bukan pemarkah persesuaian. Nomina dibagi menjadi dua gender: ANIMAT dan TAK-ANIMAT. Gender dari kelas nomina hanya muncul pada target pemarkahan gender. Sistem gender memiliki dasar semantis yang kuat. Demonstratif dibedakan dalam empat macam, yaitu antara kelihatan, kelihatan dekat, kelihatan jauh, dan tak-kelihatan. Batuley memiliki sistem numeralia yang berbasis-10 dengan numeralia kompleks pada ‘tujuh’ dan ‘delapan’ dan bentuk tak-beraturan pada ‘sepuluh’, ‘dua puluh’, dan ‘tiga puluh’. Sistem klasifikasi daripada posesif tidak stabil dalam arti bahwa beberapa nomina bisa menempati posisi milik baik yang mudah diganti (*alienable*) atau yang tak-tergantikan (*inalienable*) atau keduanya. Konstruksi verba rangkap menyebar. Batasan antara verba rangkap dan preposisi tidak tampak jelas. Reduplikasi di Batuley memiliki beberapa fungsi yang berbeda, dan biasanya pada pembentukan pewartan. Topik-topik yang disajikan dalam tesis ini menunjukkan beberapa fitur utama dari bahasa tersebut dan menyoroti hal-hal tertentu untuk penelitian lanjutan, khususnya di bidang penelitian lintas-bahasa.

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Abbreviations

Glossing abbreviations

The Leipzig Glossing Rules (<https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>) are used throughout this grammar sketch. The glosses appearing in this grammar sketch are summarized below.

~	boundary between reduplicated elements
< >	infix or ablaut
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACT	actor (A and S argument of an active verb)
AL	alienable
ANI	ANIMATE
AUG	augmenter
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CONJ	conjoiner
CONT	continuous
DIST	distal
EMPH	emphasis
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FUT	future
GOAL	goal
HAB	habitual
IMM	imminent
INA	INANIMATE
INAL	inalienable
INCEP	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INDEF	indefinite
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitivizer
INTS	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective
ko	kind of
MED	medial

NEAR.FUT	near future
NEG	negation
NF	non-finite
NVIS	non-visible
PAT	P argument
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROX	proximal
QST	question marker
RDP	reduplicant
REL	relativizer
RSYL	prefixing mutation root caused by resyllabification
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
sp	species
SRC	source
STV	stative S (S argument of a stative verb)

Other abbreviations

In addition to the above glossing abbreviations, the following abbreviations are commonly used.

A	A argument
AGR	agreement
ATTR	attribute
DEM	demonstrative
Gn	Genesis
lit.	literally
Lk	Luke
MOD	modifier
Mt	Matthew
N	noun
N _{HEAD}	head of a noun phrase
NP	noun phrase
P	P argument
PP	prepositional phrase
PRED	predicate
PREP	preposition

PRON	pronoun
QUANT	quantifier
R	R argument
RC	relative clause
S	S argument
SVC	serial verb construction
T	T argument

Note on glossing conventions

Some verbs have a bare root and a suffixing root. Suffixing roots only occurs with certain singular and third person plural suffixes. This information is indicated with ‘:SG/3PL’ attached to the end of the verb’s English gloss. For example, the bare root *mangen* is glossed as ‘sharp’, while its suffixing root *mangn-* is glossed as ‘sharp:SG/3PL’. Similarly, some verbs have a bare root and a prefixing mutation root. Prefixing mutation roots are caused by resyllabification. This information is indicated with ‘:RSYL’ attached to the end of the verb’s English gloss. For example, the bare root *fali* is glossed as ‘open’, while its prefixing mutation root *fli* is glossed as ‘open:RSYL’. Although some inalienably possessed nouns also display suffixing roots, differences between the bare roots and suffixing roots of these items are not indicated in the glossing due to a lack of regularity as to when suffixing roots are used and when they are not. Numeral suffixing roots only occur with two numerals in one specific context. Therefore, numeral suffixing roots are also glossed the same as the bare roots of numerals.

Throughout this thesis, I do not address borrowing and code-switching because they show varying degrees of adaptation. Words possibly or likely borrowed not indicated as such in the glossing with any special marking because, at this point, no systematic investigation of Batuley borrowing and code-switching has been carried out. If a word in Batuley is possibly borrowed from another language, I do not always know how well incorporated into Batuley it is.

Introduction

1.1 Language background

1.1.1 The wider geographical setting

Batuley (ISO 639-3: bay)¹ is spoken in seven low-lying island villages on the eastern side of the Aru Islands, which form a regency (*kabupaten*) in the province of Maluku in eastern Indonesia. Map 1.1 below shows the location of the Aru Islands in their wider geographical setting.



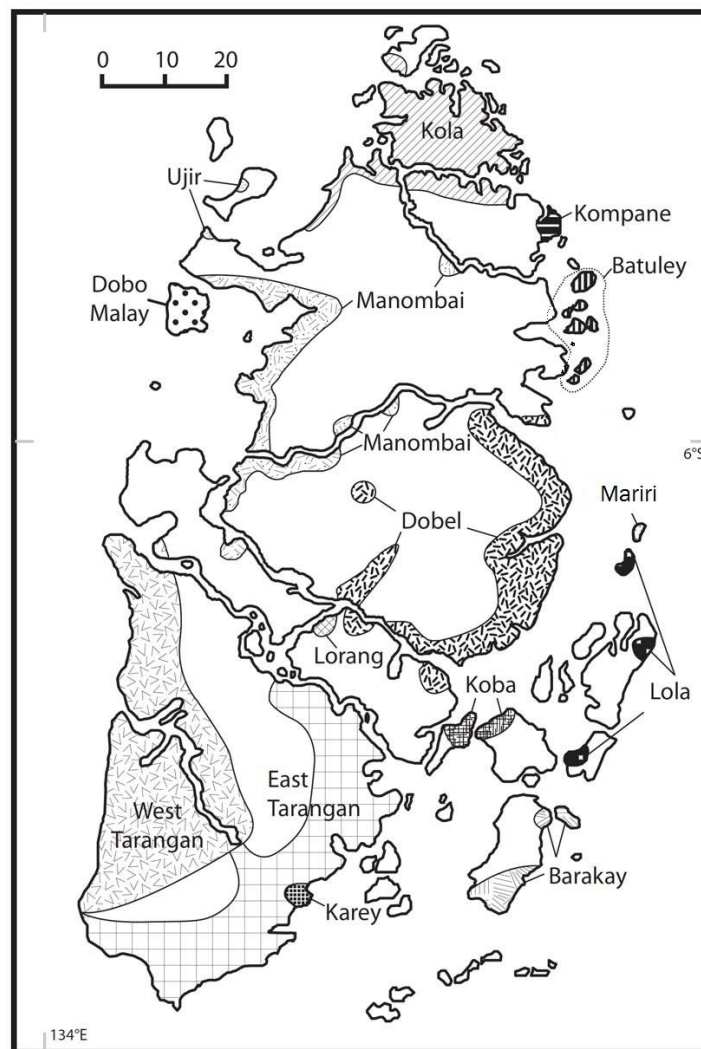
Map 1.1: The Aru Islands in Southeast Asia (Schapper 2015: 68)

1.1.2 Genetic affiliation

Batuley is an Austronesian language. Together with 13 other languages in the Aru Islands, it is a member of the Aru sub-group of languages within the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Lewis et al. 2015). Among the languages of Aru, Batuley is most closely related to Mariri (ISO 639-3: mqi). According to Hughes (1987: 92),

¹ In this thesis, languages are cited with their ISO 639-3 codes, which are unique three letter codes used to designate the names of languages. The ISO 639-3 codes here are taken from the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015).

Batuley and Mariri share 78% to 82% lexical similarities.² Despite the geographical distance from Barakai (ISO 639-3: baj) and Karey (ISO 639-3: kyd) in the southeastern part of the Aru Islands, Batuley is relatively closely related to the Barakai-Karey grouping (Hughes 1987: 95). Moreover, although Batuley is not as closely related to the neighbouring languages of Kompane (ISO 639-3: kvp), Dobel (ISO 639-3: kvo) and Lola (ISO 639-3: lcd), which form their own grouping, Hughes notes that Batuley has a relatively close relationship with these languages perhaps because of “sporadic convergence brought about by the geographical proximity of the languages” (1987: 95). Map 1.2 illustrates the location of Batuley in relation to the 13 other Aru languages.³



Map 1.2: Languages of the Aru Islands (adapted from Schapper 2015: 69)

² Hughes (1987: 97, 101) tentatively classifies Mariri as a dialect of Batuley. It has since been classified as a separate language (Taber 1996: 96).

³ Dobo Malay is included in this map. It is a variety of Malay that shares similarities with Ambonese Malay (ISO 639-3: abs) and other varieties of Malay in the region (Tjia & Nivens 2007).

1.1.3 The Batuley-speaking region

Together with the Kompane-speaking village of Kompane⁴ (to the north on Kongan Island) and the predominately Manombai-speaking (ISO 639-3: woo) village of Kobamar⁵ (to the west on Wokam Island), the seven Batuley-speaking villages make up the North East Aru Batuley District (*Kecamatan Aru Utara Timur Batuley*), which is an administrative district of the Aru Islands Regency (*Kabupaten Kepulauan Aru*). Table 1.1 lists the seven Batuley villages by their Batuley names and provides the Indonesian and English names I have seen used for the village names in various maps and other written sources (see §1.2). The villages are located on small low-lying islands in the Arafura Sea. The Batuley names of these islands are listed in table 1.1. Finally, the geographic coordinates of each village are indicated in table 1.1. Map 1.3, on the following page, marks the location of the seven Batuley-speaking villages within *Gwatle kal* ‘the Batuley region’, using the Batuley spelling of their names.

Table 1.1: Batuley villages

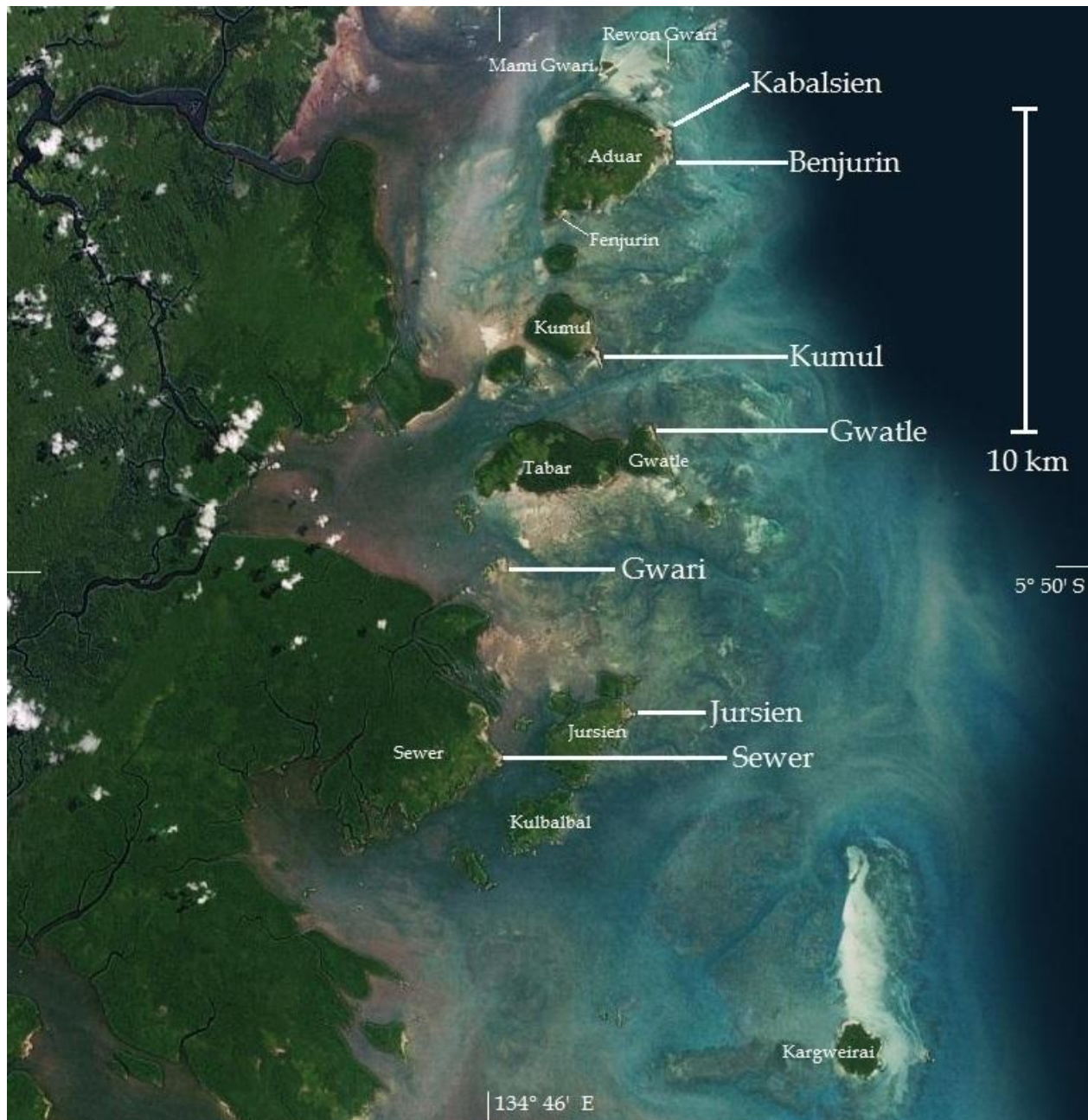
Village Name (Batuley)	Village Name (Indonesian and English) ⁶	Island	Geographic Coordinates of Village
<i>Kabalsien</i>	Kabalsiang	<i>Aduar</i>	5° 44' 09.7" S 134° 48' 46.3" E
<i>Benjurin</i>	Benjuring, Banjuring	<i>Aduar</i>	5° 44' 31.5" S 134° 48' 43.8" E
<i>Kumul</i>	Kumul	<i>Kumul</i>	5° 47' 23.6" S 134° 47' 43.9" E
<i>Gwatle</i>	Batuley, Batulei, Batu Lei, Gwatlei, Watulai, Watelai	<i>Gwatle</i>	5° 48' 27.2" S 134° 48' 30.6" E
<i>Gwari</i>	Gwaria, Waria	<i>Gwari</i> ⁷	5° 50' 23.8" S 134° 46' 21.2" E
<i>Jursien</i>	Jursiang, Jursian	<i>Jursien</i>	5° 52' 33.9" S 134° 48' 12.4" E
<i>Sewer</i>	Sewer	<i>Sewer</i>	5° 53' 12.0" S 134° 46' 19.2" E

⁴ Kompane’s geographic coordinates are 5° 38' 51.6" S 134° 45' 45.4" E.

⁵ Kobamar’s geographic coordinates are 5° 44' 34.9" S 134° 39' 16.3" E. It is the North East Aru Batuley District capital.

⁶ Throughout this thesis, I use the most common Indonesian/English names for the Batuley villages and the Batuley language. I do this in order to remain consistent with previous linguistic works. Furthermore, I use the term “Batuley” to refer to the language, people and culture of the entire Batuley-speaking region. When discussing the village of Batuley, I specifically refer to it as “Batuley village”.

⁷ *Gwari* in Batuley literally means ‘island’. The village of *Gwari* is located on the tiny island which shares the same name. The village covers nearly the entire island.



Map 1.3: *Gwatle kal* (the Batuley region)

In addition to the seven Batuley villages, there is at least one semi-permanent Batuley settlement on the southern tip of Aduar Island. It is called *Fenjurin* in Batuley (*Fenjuring* in Indonesian)⁸ and is mostly inhabited by a few families from Kumul. As can be seen from map 1.3, there are several islands within the Batuley region. On some of these uninhabited islands, there are seasonal garden houses (*rumah kebun* in Indonesian) which people use when tending to their garden plots. In the north, people occasionally stay on Mami Island, located approximately

⁸ Fenjuring's geographic coordinates are 5° 45' 20.3" S 134° 47' 14.4" E.

2km northwest of Kabalsiang village,⁹ in order to collect and process coconuts. Similarly, in the south, Batuley fisherman sometimes overnight on Kargweirai Island.¹⁰ However, these two islands do not have garden houses, as far as I am aware.

1.1.4 The Batuley people

According to 2013 government estimates, there are 3805 people in the seven Batuley villages (BPS 2014: 21). This figure does not include the number of Batuley people who live permanently or semi-permanently in Dobo – the economic hub and administrative capital of the Aru Islands – and the village of Kobamar, where many Batuley also live. The total Batuley-speaking population in 2015 is probably around 4000. Population totals by village according to the 2013 government estimates are presented in table 1.2. Kabalsiang, the northernmost village, has the largest population.

Table 1.2: Population by village according to 2013 estimates (BPS 2014: 24)

Village	Population (number of people)
Kabalsiang	795
Benjuring	685
Kumul	741
Batuley	230
Gwaria	462
Jursiang	472
Sewer	420
Total	3805

The Batuley region has a shallow water littoral zone which extends the entire length of the traditional Batuley region. It is visible from the satellite image in map 1.3.¹¹ It hosts a unique marine ecosystem that the Batuley use for sea cucumber, pearl and seaweed harvesting and for gathering a large variety of other marine life including crabs, lobsters and fish.¹² The Batuley rely heavily on the marine environment for their own subsistence, and many of the marine products (especially sea cucumbers and pearls) have long been traded and sold further afield (Spriggs et al. 2006 in Gordon & Djonler forthcoming-a). Along with marine-based activities, many Batuley also process sago, gather coconuts and manage garden plots of taro and cassava.

⁹ Mami Island is called *Mami Gwari* in Batuley. It is known as *Pulau Mamen* in Indonesian. Mami Island is the most northern island in the traditional Batuley region. Its geographic coordinates are 5° 43' 12.0" S 134° 47' 51.8" E.

¹⁰ Kargweirai Island is called *Kargweirai* or *Kargwarai* in Batuley. It is known as *Pulau Kararai* in Indonesian or *Pulau Karaweira Besar* on some maps. Its geographic coordinates are 5° 57' 24.9" S 134° 51' 27.7" E. It is located approximately 10km southeast of Jursiang village. It is an area frequented by Batuley fishermen. It is also reportedly used by Dobel men from Koiabi as an area for collecting sea cucumbers (Hughes p.c.).

¹¹ See Gordon & Djonler (forthcoming-b) for a description of the Batuley terms used for littoral zone features in the northern Batuley region.

¹² See Djonler (2010b) and Djonler & Gordon (forthcoming) for detailed, illustrative encyclopaedias of the local marine life.

There is no cell phone reception in the Batuley region. A few of the ethnic Chinese-Indonesian residents¹³ have satellite phones for business-related communication. An increasing number of residents in the Batuley villages have electric generators, but their use is limited as fuel is expensive and difficult to obtain. A few residents have satellite television. Transportation between the villages and other parts of Aru is carried out by speedboat and other motor-powered vessels. This is also limited considering the high cost of fuel.

The majority of the Batuley in Kabalsiang and Benjuring are Christian (Protestant and Roman Catholic). The residents of Kumul are a mix of Christian (Protestant and Roman Catholic) and Muslim. The majority of residents in the southern villages (Batuley village, Gwaria, Jursiang and Sewer) are Muslim. Refer to Gordon & Djonler (forthcoming-a) for insight into the complex relationship of traditional Batuley beliefs and Christianity and Islam.

1.1.5 Language name

The name of the Batuley language is *Gwatle lir* (literally, ‘Batuley voice/language’) in Batuley. The language takes its name from the island on which Batuley village is located. According to the Batuley people, Batuley Island is their place of origin. The etymology of the name *Gwatle* is not entirely clear. During fieldwork, speakers explained that *gwat* means ‘river’¹⁴ or ‘sea channel’. However, they were unable to offer any explanation for the morpheme *le*. Its meaning does not appear to be synchronically retrievable, but *le* may be a devoiced form of *li* ‘cave’, from the Proto-Aru **lia* ‘cave’ (Nivens n.d.). I was not able to verify this during fieldwork. Further investigation is required.

1.1.6 Sociolinguistic situation

Batuley is spoken by nearly all of the approximately 4000 residents in the seven Batuley villages. Some minor differences in accent and vocabulary exist between the Batuley villages. The language is in vigorous use. During fieldwork, I noticed that it was used for face-to-face communication between and within speakers of all generations. Many (but not all) of the non-Batuley who settle in the Batuley villages also learn the language, especially if a family member such as a spouse is a speaker of the language. Nevertheless, I heard Malay used in many contexts and especially among the young Batuley of Kabalsiang and Benjuring, where I spent the majority of my time. All speakers of Batuley also speak Malay and many also speak standard Indonesian. Standard Indonesian is used at school, in Protestant and Roman Catholic church services, and in government documentation. Batuley is said to be most vibrant in the south in Batuley village, Gwaria, Jursiang and Sewer, but I was unable to verify this. Although Batuley is used between

¹³ Ethnic Chinese-Indonesians have lived in the Batuley region for several generations. Although they have not intermarried with the Batuley, many are able to speak Batuley.

¹⁴ The Indonesian term *sungai* ‘river’ was given as one definition. I found that the term *sungai* was often used in the broad sense of ‘flowing water’ and sometimes used interchangeably with *selat* (Indonesian: ‘sea channel’). There are no fresh water rivers in the Batuley region and few, if any, fresh water streams. I do not know if *gwat* refers to a fresh water, salt water and/or brackish water ‘river’. Further investigation is required especially in determining how *gwat* is different from the term *mar* ‘sea channel’ or ‘passage’. Refer to the relevant entries in the Batuley-English glossary in appendix I.

and within speakers of all generations, I believe it is losing ground to Malay. This is evident in the complex Malay borrowing and code-switching phenomena apparent in some of the Batuley that I heard spoken. Depending on the context, interlocutor and topic of conversation, Malay borrowing and code-switching in Batuley vary tremendously. Throughout this thesis, I do not address borrowing and code-switching because they show varying degrees of adaptation. I avoid using a few recordings collected during fieldwork in the analysis for this thesis because they show a disproportionately high degree of interference from Malay due to the discourse context. Despite this, Batuley does not (yet) typically display the extreme levels of borrowing and code-switching present in some varieties of West Tarangan (Nivens 1998). Further investigation into borrowing and code-switching in Batuley is a rich field for future research.

As mentioned in §1.1.4 above, there is said to be a significant Batuley population in the mainly Manombai-speaking village of Kobamar. During fieldwork, Batuley informants claimed that there is a mixed variety of Batuley-Manombai spoken among the residents of Kobamar. This is worth future investigation. While visiting the southernmost villages of Sewer and Jursiang, speakers said that several of the men there were able to speak Dobel due to the contact they have with Dobel speakers to the south. Many Batuley people live permanently or semi-permanently in Dobo. The Batuley of Dobo are said to use Malay more regularly than Batuley and are less likely to be able to converse fluently in Batuley, especially if they have lived in Dobo from a young age. Further investigation is required.

1.2 Previous and current linguistic work

The earliest known linguistic work on Batuley that I am aware of is an unpublished word list from Benjuring recorded by Coppet (1973). There is a handwritten unpublished Batuley-Indonesian word list in the Rumphius library at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Ambon (Jonler, 1987). It is 46 pages long and was recorded in a small notebook (Schapper p.c. & Gordon p.c.). Also in the 1980s, work on the languages of Aru began with a fieldwork report by Collins (1982) and a lexicostatistical survey by Hughes (1987). Collins (1982) appears to classify Batuley as a dialect of a much larger Wokam-Tarangan language, although his use of the terms dialect and language is unclear. His grouping Wokam-Tarangan is now known to consist of several different languages. Hughes (1987) is the first to classify Batuley as a distinct language. In his extensive lexicostatistical survey report of Kei, Tanimbar and Aru, Hughes tentatively classifies Mariri as a divergent dialect of Batuley because it is nearly intelligible with Batuley, although considered a separate language by its speakers (1987: 101). Mariri has since been classified as a separate language (Taber 1996: 96). As Hughes notes, further intelligibility testing is required (1987: 101).¹⁵ Hughes surveyed the Batuley villages of Kumul, in the north, and Jursiang, in the south,

¹⁵ During fieldwork, I was able to visit Mariri, albeit very briefly. A small word list (approximately 50 items) was collected, but many of the items were the same as those collected and analyzed in Hughes (1987). Regarding the vitality of Mariri, it was noted that “children reportedly learn Malay first, but all go on to learn and use the vernacular” (Hughes 1987: 101). The situation in Mariri in 2014 appears to have changed. Children and youth up to

and found the varieties of Batuley spoken in those villages to be 90% lexically similar. He also notes that the language is likely to be fairly homogenous across the seven villages given the high degree of lexical similarities between Kumul and Jursiang (Hughes 1987: 101).

Taber (1996) presents a linguistic atlas of the province of Maluku based partially on the findings of Hughes (1987). Batuley is mentioned in conjunction with Mariri as forming a sub-grouping of the Aru languages (Taber 1996: 96). Maturbongs (2002) presents a 21 page syntactic sketch of Batuley based on research conducted in Kabalsiang and Benjuring in 2001 and 2002 under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Ambon. Later in the 2000s, Jakub and Barča Pszczolka spearheaded a Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Batuley project. They first visited Aru in May 2005, where they collected word lists and recordings of Batuley. They then returned to Aru from January 2006 to 2008 where they spent most of their time living in Benjuring and Kabalsiang. From 2009 to 2010, they were based in Dobo while Jakub Pszczolka spent several month-long periods working in Kabalsiang and Benjuring. Their research produced many helpful manuscripts and publications, which served as a vital starting point for my own research on Batuley. These resources include notes on the phonology of Batuley (Pszczolka 2009), a discussion of the vowel system (Pszczolka n.d.-c), an overview of major morphological patterns (Pszczolka 2011), notes on the stative verb system (Pszczolka n.d.-b), and an unpublished Toolbox¹⁶ lexicon containing 1689 Batuley entries (Pszczolka n.d.-a). In 2010, two publications were distributed to the Batuley communities as a result of the work by SIL and the Dobo-based Sar Abil Development Foundation (*Yayasan Pengembangan Sar Abil*). These include a catalogue of fish in the Batuley region (Djonler et al. 2010b) and a bilingual Batuley-Dobo Malay picture book Bible story (Djonler et al. 2010a). Furthermore, several oral Bible stories told by a fluent Batuley speaker were made available on CD (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011).

Current research in the area of linguistic anthropology in the Batuley communities will be reported in three publications. Gordon & Djonler (forthcoming-a) look at ritual practices in Kumul and Kabalsiang. Gordon & Djonler (forthcoming-b) examine in detail the Batuley terms used for the littoral zone features in the northern Batuley region. Finally, Djonler & Gordon (forthcoming) will provide an illustrated encyclopedia of Batuley marine biology knowledge. The recordings and transcriptions of interviews conducted in Batuley for these projects, among other materials, are currently being archived at <https://corpus1.mpi.nl/>.

1.3 This work

1.3.1 Preparation for this thesis

Prior to fieldwork in the Aru Islands, I analyzed and built hypotheses about Batuley based on the abovementioned material from SIL from October 2013 to March 2014. I converted the Toolbox lexicon from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) into Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX)¹⁷ and

the age of 20 no longer learn Mariri and are not addressed in the language. Those in their 20s to 40s reportedly understand Mariri but no longer use it. Only those over the age of 40 are said to use it on a daily basis.

¹⁶ www.sil.org/computing/toolbox

¹⁷ <http://fieldworks.sil.org/flex>

transcribed the recordings from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) into FLE_x using a manuscript transcription and back-translation of the recordings. I wrote two term papers using the SIL material on Batuley and material on other languages of Aru.¹⁸ These include a comparative analysis of the prefix *R- in five languages of Aru (Daigle 2014a) and a preliminary analysis of the alignment system of Batuley (Daigle 2014b). Since conducting fieldwork, the findings from these papers regarding Batuley have been improved upon and incorporated into the present thesis.

1.3.2 Fieldwork for this thesis¹⁹

The fieldwork for this thesis was carried out over the period of approximately one month. Research in the Batuley region took place from April 29th to May 28th, 2014, and follow-up sessions were conducted in Dobo from May 29th to June 5th, 2014. All materials are being archived at <https://corpus1.mpi.nl/>.

In terms of data collection, the main goal of the fieldwork was to gather linguistic material on Batuley which could be used in describing the phonology and morphosyntax of the language and which would be useful in comparative work with other Aru languages. Due to time constraints, I concentrated on word lists and stimuli-based material. Further research on Batuley will greatly benefit from analysis of narrative texts and recordings of natural speech. I collected copies of a noun list (253 items), active verb list (120 items) and stative verb list (65 items)²⁰ with different speakers. Sessions were usually conducted with one speaker at a time, but occasionally this was not possible and groups of people participated. All participants were made aware that the material (audio recorded and written) would be used for the purposes of linguistic research and made available to researchers, and consent was given orally. I mainly worked with Batuley men 30 years of age and older, but I was also able to work with a few women. In addition to the word lists, I used various stimuli-based materials from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (MPI).²¹ These include visual and audio-visual resources designed to help explore positional verbs (Ameka et al. 1999), locational expressions (Bowerman & Pederson 1992), cut and break action (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2001), motion (Bohnenmeyer 2001; Kita 1995), and reciprocal action (Evans et al. 2004). Other materials collected include audio recordings and transcribed sessions of the following:

-Minimal pairs elicitation²²

-Picture stimuli material designed to explore possible classifier-type constructions (Schapper 2010)

-A Batuley telling of the picture book “Frog, where are you?” by Mayer (1969)

¹⁸ From de Winne (2013a, 2013b), Hughes (1987, 1995a, 1995b, 2000), Hughes & Hughes (1989), Nivens (1992, 1993, 1998), Schapper (n.d.), Takata (1992), Takata & Takata (1992), and Takata et al. (1991).

¹⁹ Funding for fieldwork was provided by the DoBeS-sponsored “Aru Languages Documentation Project” (Projekt 86 277) of the Volkswagen Foundation through the University of Cologne and the Leids Universiteit Fonds (LUF).

²⁰ These lists were designed by Antoinette Schapper (2014b, 2014c & 2014d) for the purpose of future comparative studies with other Aru languages.

²¹ Available at <http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/>.

²² Based on information from Pszczolka (n.d.-c & 2009).

- A translation task from Indonesian to Batuley of Aesop's fable "The North Wind and the Sun"
- Procedural texts describing fishing and building a house
- Folktales
- Songs
- Aru ground mammal names based on picture stimuli (Schapper 2013)
- Aru bird names based on picture stimuli (Schapper 2014a)

I stayed with a Batuley family in Kabalsiang. The majority of the research was carried out with speakers of Batuley in Kabalsiang and Benjuring. I was able to visit Kumul and the southernmost villages of Jursiang and Sewer, where noun lists were collected. I also visited Mariri village²³ where a short noun list (only approximately 50 words) of the Mariri language was collected. Unfortunately, it was not possible to record the fieldwork session. I visited Lola village,²⁴ where a noun list was collected with speakers of the Lola language.²⁵ The same noun list was also collected with speakers of Kompane while a group of them were staying for a few days in Kabalsiang.

1.3.3 Data analysis

The data gathered during fieldwork is of three types: (i) audio recordings, (ii) transcriptions, (iii) notes. I used a handheld audio recorder to document the fieldwork sessions when it was acceptable and when informant consent was given. Transcriptions were made in my notebooks during the sessions and were often accompanied by follow-up sessions to ask for clarification and help in transcribing. I also carried a small notebook with me which I would use to take spur-of-the-moment notes that were not recorded whenever I overheard a new word or whenever a speaker explained something to me while I was out in the villages.

From the noun lists collected in the northern villages of Kabalsiang, Benjuring and Kumul and the southern villages of Jursiang and Sewer, I am able to confirm Hughes' (1987: 101) hypothesis that Batuley is rather homogenous throughout the region. Some minor differences in accent and vocabulary exist between the Batuley villages. This thesis concentrates primarily on the variety of the two most northern Batuley villages of Kabalsiang and Benjuring. After returning from the Batuley region, I began entering data into my own Toolbox lexicon and text file management database. This Toolbox lexicon currently contains 1527 entries, many of which overlap with the entries in Pszczolka (n.d.-a). The speech analysis program Praat²⁶ was used to quantitatively analyze vowels and consonants.

Throughout this thesis, I draw examples and analyses principally from my own data collected during fieldwork, and, as such, I do not cite their source. All such original materials are being made available at <https://corpus1.mpi.nl/>. In addition, I often draw from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and

²³ Mariri village's geographic coordinates are 6° 09' 22.0" S 134° 52' 18.4" E.

²⁴ Lola village's geographic coordinates are 6° 13' 36.1" S 134° 51' 33.2" E.

²⁵ Lola appears to have been replaced by Malay in all contexts in Lola village. The language appears to be severely endangered. There were only a handful of older people who claimed to know how to speak it.

²⁶ www.praat.org

Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) to supplement my analyses and provide further examples. I give due reference when necessary. Whenever an example from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) is used, note that the free translation is not a translation from an English version of the Bible but instead a back translation that sticks closely to the Batuley while maintaining a natural flow in English. The approximate corresponding chapter and verse from the English New International Version of the Bible (NIV 2011) is provided as additional information, should the reader wish to consult the parallel text. I appeal to Wälchli (2007 & 2009) and de Vries (2007) in justifying my use of parallel text translations in this grammar sketch. The Batuley oral Bible stories were told through a process of ‘oral Bible storying’ where emphasis was placed on communication of the message using only natural Batuley storytelling techniques (Pszczolka, p.c.). De Vries explains that “Bible translations exist in extreme translational types, both extremely foreignizing (high source language interference, Holy Inspiration skopos) and extremely domesticating types (missionary skopos)” (2007:150). He concludes that as long as linguists are aware of the skopos (or function) of Bible translations and their consequences, they can be used in linguistic research (de Vries 2007: 157). The aim of communication of the message over “foreignizing” the text makes the text as natural sounding as possible. This is one of the main functions of oral Bible storying projects (Pszczolka, p.c.). The Batuley oral Bible stories should not be regarded as “a certain form of translationese” which some may be quick to dismiss (Wälchli 2009: 50). As such, I make use of the data in Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) to supplement my analysis.

Throughout this thesis, “corpus” refers to the entire body of Batuley data I have gathered in Toolbox and FLEx. These are specifically (i) my own data collected during fieldwork, and (ii) the data present in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). Occasionally, I limit my analysis to my own data collected during fieldwork. When I do this, I make it explicit in the prose and refer to the source data as “my (own) data”.

2 Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes Batuley's vowel phonemes (§2.2), consonant phonemes (§2.3), syllable structure (§2.4), phonotactics (§2.5), stress (§2.6), morphophonology (§2.7) and reduplication (§2.8). The chapter concludes with an outline for a proposed orthography (§2.9) and a discussion of topics in Batuley phonology that require further investigation (§2.10). Depending on the context and the speaker, loanwords are commonly used in Batuley (see §1.1.6). However, this chapter does not deal with the phonology of adapted or unadapted loanwords because loanwords show varying degrees of adaptation.

2.2 Vowel phonemes

This section outlines Batuley vowel phonemes (§2.2.1) and vowel phoneme allophony (§2.2.2).

2.2.1 Vowel phonemes

Batuley has five vowel phonemes as illustrated in table 2.1. The front and central vowel phonemes are unrounded whereas the back vowel phonemes are rounded. There is no phonemic vowel length contrast in Batuley. All vowel phonemes can occur in all positions – initially, medially and finally.

Table 2.1: Batuley vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Near minimal pairs, which are contrastive examples illustrating a change in meaning based on the difference of one phoneme, illustrate the 5 vowel contrast in (1a-e).

- (1) a. /'mir/ 'crab'
b. /'mur/ 'ant'
c. /'mer/ 'day'
d. /'nor/ 'coconut'

e. /'mar/ 'sea channel'

2.2.2 Allophony

2.2.2.1 Allophony of /i/

Slight laxing of the high vowel /i/ optionally occurs in stressed CVC environments where the final consonant is a non-sibilant coronal. We can posit a rule for optional /i/ laxing as follows.

/i/ → [ɪ] ~ [i] / [+stress, +consonant] __ [+coronal, -sibilant]

/i/ → [i] / elsewhere

Examples of optional /i/ laxing are given in (2a-e).

- (2) a. /'ɸin/ ['ɸɪn] ~ ['ɸin] 'side/part'
b. /'dʒin/ ['dʒɪn] ~ ['dʒin] 'mother'
c. /'mil/ ['mɪl] ~ ['mil] 'fat'
d. /'sir/ ['sɪr] ~ ['sir] 'type of bird'
e. /tu'liɾ/ [tu.'lɪr] ~ [tu.'lir] 'egg'

In some cases, there is a preference for high vowel laxing – that is, no instances of optional non-laxing have been observed. See (3a-c) for examples of this, and refer to §2.10 for a discussion on the implications of the absence of variable realizations in cases like these.

- (3) a. /'ɸir/ ['ɸɪr] 'paddle'
b. /'ɸil/ ['ɸɪl] 'price'
c. /'dʒil/ ['dʒɪl] 'krait snake'

Example (4a-c) illustrates cases where /i/ laxing does not appear to occur, either because the final consonant is not [+coronal, -sibilant] as in (4a) or because the word exhibits a preference for [i] realization as in (4b-c).

- (4) a. /'dʒig/ ['dʒig] 'fish'
b. /'mir/ ['mir] 'crab'

c. /'sit/ ['sit] '1PL.INCL'

/i/ laxing is particularly noticeable in a few high frequency words which display /i/ versus /e/ minimal pairing. Several of the person-number paradigms for the irregular active verbs 'sleep' or 'lie down' and 'eat' stand out for their contrast which shows high vowel laxing in the 'sleep' or 'lie down' verb paradigm. Compare the following examples and refer to §2.7.1.2 for the full paradigms of these verbs.

- (5) a. /'nin/ ['nin] '3SG.ACT:sleep/lie.down'
 ≠
 b. /'nen/ ['nɛn] '3SG.ACT:drink'
- (6) a. /'min/ ['min] '1PL.EXCL.ACT:sleep/lie.down'
 ≠
 b. /men/ ['mɛn] '1PL.EXCL.ACT:drink'
- (7) a. /'sin/ ['sin] '1PL.INCL.ACT:sleep/lie.down'
 ≠
 b. /'sen/ ['sɛn] '1PL.INCL.ACT:drink'
- (8) a. /'minin/ ['mi.nin] '2PL.ACT:sleep/lie.down'
 ≠
 b. /'minen/ ['mi.nɛn] '2PL.ACT:drink'
- (9) a. /'din/ ['din] '3PL.ACT:sleep/lie.down'
 ≠
 b. /'den/ ['dɛn] '3PL.ACT:drink'

High vowel /i/ laxing does not occur before sibilants. This is due to an anticipatory spreading phenomenon conditioned by the perceptual intensity of sibilants. The perceptual intensity spreads to the preceding vowel and conditions a lack of laxing, as illustrated in (10a-d) where the sibilant /s/ conditions the lack of laxing in /i/.

- (10) a. /'ɸis/ ['ɸis] 'night'
 b. /'lis/ ['lis] 'hammerhead shark'
 c. /ar'dʒis/ [ar.'dʒis] '3SG.ACT-INTR-urinate' ('s/he urinates')
 d. /a'nis/ [a.'nis] 'flying fox'

2.2.2.2 Allophony of /e/

The mid vowel /e/ has a range of realizations, which vary between speakers and even within the speech of the same speaker. /e/ may be realized as the IPA close-mid front unrounded [e], the open-mid front unrounded [ɛ] or midway between the two. The /e/ allophony can be summarized as [e ~ ɛ]. Sibilant spreading is responsible for an emergent contrast between [i] and [ɪ], which is a part of /e/ allophony. We can posit a rule for /e/ allophony as follows.

/e/ → [ɪ] / C__s

/e/ → [e ~ ɛ] / elsewhere

Example (11a-b) illustrates the emergent contrast between [i] and [ɪ] that this phenomenon creates. I attribute the presence of [ɪ] at the phonetic level in (11b) to sibilant spreading where the high frequency of the sibilant /s/ spreads to the neighbouring vowel, causing the vowel to be raised. The ['ɸis] ‘night’ and ['ɸɪs] ‘amok’ example in (10a-b) is the only case from my corpus of this emergent contrast.

- (11) a. /'ɸis/ ['ɸis] ‘night’
 ≠
 b. /'ɸes/ ['ɸɪs] ‘amok’

An alternative is to posit [ɪ] as a phoneme. However, my corpus does not have any clear three-way minimal pairing between /i/, /e/ and [ɪ]. In the absence of such strong evidence, I opt for a more economical analysis where [ɪ] is seen as an allophone of both /i/ (see §2.2.2.1) and /e/. See §2.10 for further discussion.

2.2.2.3 Allophony of /o/

The mid vowel /o/ has a range of realizations, which vary between speakers and even within the speech of the same speaker. /o/ may be realized as the IPA close-mid back rounded [o], the open-mid back rounded [ɔ] or midway between the two. The /o/ allophony can be summarized as [o ~ ɔ]. Some words display a preference as to which of the mid-vowels they take. For instance, /'dʒot/ ‘type of fish’ always occurs with a distinct close-mid [o], as in ['dʒot], and never with an open-mid [ɔ], as in *['dʒɔt]. Conversely, /'kol/ ‘1SG.ACT:get’ and /'kon/ ‘1SG.ACT:drink’ only ever occur with the open-mid [ɔ], as in ['kɔl] and ['kɔn] respectively.

There is a range of realizations for the interjection ‘yes’ /'kon/ in Batuley. These are presented in (12).

- (12) /'kon/ ['kon] ~ ['kɔn] ‘yes’

The near-close back rounded vowel [ʊ] is an extra phonemic realization. It sets /'kon/ apart from other words. In the world’s languages, it is frequently the case that interjections have different

phonological realizations or that they have a distinct phonology. Interestingly, this situation presents an emergent contrast between /'kon/ ['kon] ~ ['kɔn] ‘yes’ and /'kon/ ['kɔn] ‘1SG.ACT:drink’. See §2.10 for a discussion related to this issue.

2.2.2.4 Vowel dissimilation conditioned by stress

Modifier formation, compounding, reduplication and alternations in phrasal stress condition vowel dissimilation for /a/. The central vowel /a/ of a primary stressed CV(C) syllable, which usually ends in a semivowel, changes to [e] when the syllable no longer carries primary stress. The phonological rule for this is as follows.

/a/ → [e] / ,C __ (C)

/a/ → [a] / elsewhere

(13a-b) demonstrate this phenomenon. The central vowel /a/ of (13a) dissimilates to the front vowel [e] in (13b) because of the change in primary stress placement caused by the second element modifying the first in an attributive construction.

- (13) a. /'kaj/ ['kaj] ‘wood/tree’
 b. /'kaj da'da/ [,kej.da.'da] ‘fire RDP~3PL.ACT-burn’ (‘firewood’)

The primary stressed central vowel /a/ of (14a) dissimilates to the secondary stressed front vowel [e] in (14b). This occurs because of a shift in primary stress placement, which is brought on by the addition of a modifying element, in this case ['lus], which carries primary stress in the compound.

- (14) a. /na'waj/ [na.'waj] ‘bird of prey’
 b. /na'waj 'lus/ [na.,wej.'lus] ‘type of bird of prey’

Reduplication in Batuley is from right to left – that is, the reduplicant is positioned to the left of the base (see §2.8). When we compare (15a) and (15b), we see that the central vowel of the base CVC syllable /maj/ dissimilates to the front vowel [e] in the reduplicant syllable. This is because primary stress remains on the base.

- (15) a. /ŋa'maj/ [ŋa.'maj] ‘fragrance’
 b. /ŋamaj'maj/ [ŋa.mej.'maj] ‘<RDP>fragrance’

Similarly, the central vowel /a/ of the CVC base in (16a) dissimilates to the front vowel [e] of the reduplicant in (16b) because the reduplicant does not carry primary stress.

- (16) a. /tu'baj/ [tu.'baj] 'new'
 b. /tubaj'baj/ [tu.bej.'baj] '<RDP>new'

Vowel dissimilation of /a/ is even evident with pronouns when the third person pronoun /'naj/ and the second person plural /'kaem/ are unstressed. This occurs optionally in constructions where a pronoun is followed by a verb, as in (17a-b). When a pronoun is unstressed, the verb is seen as carrying primary stress for the clause. See also §2.6 on stress.

- (17) a. /'naj 'dʒoben/ ['naj 'dʒo.bən] ~ [nej 'dʒo.bən] '3SG good-3SG.ANL.STV'
 b. /'kaem 'dʒobkem/ ['ka.ɛm 'dʒob'.kɛm] ~ [ke.ɛm 'dʒob'.kɛm] '2PL good-2PL.STV'

2.2.2.5 Centralization

Centralization of non-back vowels occurs optionally, especially in rapid speech, and is conditioned by stress and polysyllabicity. It occurs in unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words. In (18a-c), the unstressed high vowels /e/ and /i/ are optionally centralized to a schwa in rapid speech. In careful speech, these non-back vowels are not centralized.

- (18) a. /ben'dʒurin/ [bən.'dʒur.in] ~ [bən.'dʒur.in] 'Benjuring' (village name)
 b. /taɸer'lara/ [ta.ɸər.'la.ra] ~ [ta.ɸər.'la.ra] 'sun'
 c. /kir'dʒaban/ [kir.'dʒa.ban] ~ [kər.'dʒa.ban] 'mat'

Non-back vowels may not fully lower to a schwa. In (19), the /i/ of the second syllable /dʒid/ does not fully lower to a schwa. Instead, it optionally lowers as far as the near-closed front unrounded [ɪ].

- (19) /kaldʒid'dʒidar/ [kal.dʒid.'dʒid.ar] ~ [kal.dʒɪd.'dʒid.ar] 'rainbow'

2.3 Consonant phonemes

This section describes the consonant phoneme inventory (§2.3.1) and consonant allophony (§2.3.2).

Fricatives and Affricates:

Batuley has two fricative phonemes: /ɸ/ and /s/. An affricate is a plosive followed by a homorganic fricative. Therefore, the affricate phoneme /dʒ/ is included here for comparison. Minimal pairs illustrating their status as phonemes are found in (22).

- [illegible]

Liquids:

Batuley has two liquid phonemes: the lateral /l/ and the trill /r/. A minimal pair illustrates their status as phonemes in (23).

- [illegible]

Semivowels:

Batuley has two semivowel phonemes: /w/ and /j/. The best minimal pair in my corpus shows the semivowels contrasting in word-final position (24).

- (24) /w/ ≠ /j/ /'kaw/ 'four'
 /'kaj/ 'wood/tree'

2.3.2 Allophony

2.3.2.1 No audible release

Word-final plosives are optionally non-audibly released. This typically occurs in rapid speech. (25a-e) provide examples for all word-final plosives.

- (25) a. /'eb/ ['ɛb] ~ ['ɛbʔ] 'rib'
- b. /'at/ ['at] ~ ['atʔ] 'liver'
- c. /'bed/ ['bɛd] ~ ['bɛdʔ] 'machete'
- d. /gar'dok/ [gʷar.'dɔk] ~ [gʷar.'dɔkʔ] 'depression' (i.e., in the ground)
- e. /'muq/ ['muq] ~ ['muqʔ] 'banana tree'

2.3.2.2 Fortition

The bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is typically realized as the bilabial plosive [p] before a liquid-initial stressed syllable in a limited set of numeral words. I present these in (26a-b). Note that

fortition is optional in the numeral ‘twenty’ where /ϕ/ precedes the trill /r/. The choice depends upon the speaker. I have found that fortition always occurs in the numeral ‘thirty’ where /ϕ/ precedes the lateral /l/. Fortition may be a feature illustrating accent differences between the Batuley villages. Further investigation is required.

- (26) a. /uruϕ'ru/ [u.ruϕ.'ru] ~ [u.rup.'ru] ‘twenty’
 b. /uruϕ'laes/ [u.rup.'la.es] ‘thirty’

2.3.2.3 Labialization

The velar plosive /g/ is labialized in onset position before the non-back vowels /e/, /a/ and /i/. The off-glide of the labiovelar plosive is a phonetic transition heard before non-back vowels. A phonological rule for this phenomenon is as follows.

/g/ → [g^w] / \$ _ [+vowel; -back]

/g/ → [g] / elsewhere

In my corpus examples, labialization most often occurs before the non-back vowel /a/. A few examples of this are presented in (27a-d).

- (27) a. /ga'ri/ [g^wa.'ri] ‘island’
 b. /'gajor/ ['g^wa.jor] ‘water’
 a. /'gager/ ['g^wa.g^wer] ‘root’
 b. /'gaw/ ['g^waw] ‘chid’

Labialization occurs less frequently after the non-back vowel /e/, as illustrated in (28a-b).

- (28) a. /gej'ta/ [g^wej.'ta] ‘cockatoo’
 b. /'gager/ ['g^wa.g^wer] ‘root’

Labialization occurs even less frequently before the non-back vowel /i/. (29) is one example of this.

- (29) /e'gil/ [ɛ.'g^wil] ‘oven’

Note that /g/ does not labialize before back vowels (30a-d) or word-finally (31a-b).

(30) a. /'gol/ ['gol] 'crow'; 'raven'

b. /go'ɸat/ [go.'ɸat] ~ [go.'ɸat'] 'squid'

c. /'gun/ ['gun] 'blood'

d. /'gulen/ ['gu.lɛn] 'rudder'

(31) a. /'turug/ ['tu.rug] ~ ['tu.rug'] 'knife'

b. /'tulag/ ['tu.lug] ~ ['tu.lag'] 'hole'

2.3.2.4 Voicing

Velar plosives are voiced intervocally and across syllable boundaries. A phonological rule for voicing is as follows.

/k/ → [g] / V _ V

/k/ → [k] / elsewhere

In (32a-c), /k/ is voiced to [g] because it occurs intervocally between the vowel of the active verb prefix and the vowel nucleus of the verb.

(32) a. /a'ker/ [a.'ger] '3SG.ACT-grate' ('s/he grates')

b. /a'katsit/ [a.'gat.sit] '3SG.ACT-wait-1PL.INCL.PAT' ('s/he waits for us')

c. /ku'ka'man/ [ku.'ga'man] '1SG.ACT-hunt/chase bird' ('I hunt birds')

In (33a-c), the voicing rule does not apply because the velar plosives do not occur intervocally.

(33) a. /ker'ker/ [ker.'ker] 'grater'

b. /ar'kat/ [ar.'kat] '3SG.ACT-INTR-wait' ('s/he waits')

a. /kor'ka/ [kor.'ka] '1SG.ACT-INTR-hunt/chase' ('I hunt')

Note that voicing does not occur across word boundaries. In (34), the /k/ in /ku'tur/ occurs intervocally as it is preceded by the vowel /a/ of the adjacent word /kor'ka/, but it is not voiced because the voicing rule does not apply across word boundaries.

- (34) /kor'ka ku'tur ta'ra/
 [kor.'ka ku.'tur ta.'ra]
 *ko-r-ka ku-tur tara*²⁷
 1SG.ACT-INTR-hunt/chase 1SG.ACT-with dog
 'I hunt with a dog'

2.3.2.5 Labialization before voicing

The labialization rule applies before the voicing rule. This is illustrated in table 2.3. Take the example of /'aka/ 'sago tree'.²⁸ The rule ordering reveals that the labialization rule occurs before the voicing rule. If voicing were to apply before labialization, /'aka/ would be realized as *['a.g^wa], which is unacceptable. However, when the labialization rule applies before the voicing rule, the labialization rule has no effect on the underlying voiceless velar plosive /k/ of /'aka/. Once the voicing rule then applies, /'aka/ is realized as its actual surface form, ['a.ga].

Table 2.3: Underlying and surface forms for /'aka/, /'taker/, and /i'kaol/

Underlying	Surface	Rule Order		English
		voicing-labialization	labialization-voicing	
/'aka/	['a.ga]	*['a.g ^w a]	['a.ga]	'sago tree'
/'taker/	['ta.ger]	*['ta. g ^w er]	['ta.ger]	'ear'
/i'kaol/	[i.'ga.ol]	*[i.'g ^w a.ol]	[i.'ga.ol]	'type of scrubfowl'

2.4 Syllable structure

This section describes Batuley's syllable structure beginning with the possible syllable types (§2.4.1) and concluding with the syllable structure of monomorphemic and polymorphemic words (§2.4.2).

2.4.1 Syllable types

Batuley syllables consist of a vowel nucleus and an optional onset and/or coda consonant. There are four possible syllable types: V, CV, VC and CVC.

The most common syllable types in Batuley are CV and CVC. The CV and CVC syllable types occur word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. Examples of CV syllable types are presented in (35a-f).

- (35) a. 'CV /'nu/ ['nu] 'type of fish'

²⁷ In this thesis, orthographic symbols are written in italics. I provide the orthographic representation in this example in order to aid the reader in identifying morpheme and word boundaries. The orthography is outlined in §2.9.

²⁸ The underlying form of /'aka/ is also evident from Proto-Aru *sakaw (Nivens, n.d.). Furthermore, if the underlying form were /'aga/, the voiced labiovelar plosive allophone [g^w] would be elevated to the status of a phoneme because there would then be a phonemic contrast between the voiced velar plosive and the voiced labiovelar plosive before non-back vowels.

b. 'CV.CV	/ˈɡuna/	[ˈɡu.na]	‘fish scale’
c. CV.'CV	/ɸaˈnu/	[ɸa.ˈnu]	‘village’
d. 'V.CV	/ˈena/	[ˈɛ.na]	‘tinea’
e. CVC.'CV	/karˈta/	[kar.ˈta]	‘small rodent’
f. CVC.'CV.CVC	/kirˈdʒaban/	[kir.ˈdʒa.ban]	‘mat’

Examples of CVC syllable types are given in (36a-e).

(36) a. 'CVC	/ˈnaw/	[ˈnaw]	‘sugar palm tree’
b. CVC.'CVC	/dʒerˈtaj/	[dʒer.ˈtaj]	‘clothing’
c. 'CV.CVC	/ˈŋebor/	[ˈŋɛ.bor]	‘type of fish’
d. CV.'CVC	/ŋaˈmar/	[ŋa.ˈmar]	‘sky’
e. V.'CVC	/aˈdʒer/	[a.ˈdʒɛr]	‘casuarina tree’

V and VC syllables only occur word-initially and word-finally. Examples of V syllables occurring word-initially and word-finally are given in (37a-e).

(37) a. 'V	/ˈa/	[ˈa]	‘3SG.ACT-burn’
b. V.'CVC	/eˈjam/	[e.ˈjam]	‘type of shelled mollusc’
c. 'V.CV	/ˈaka/	[ˈa.ɡa]	‘sago tree’
d. 'V.VC	/ˈaem/	[ˈa.ɛm]	‘father<3SG.POSS>’
e. 'CV.V	/ˈbui/	[ˈbu.i]	‘acera nut’

Examples of VC syllables are presented in (38a-e).

(38) a. 'VC	/ˈil/	[ˈil]	‘male’
b. VC.'CVC	/alˈkaj/	[al.ˈkaj]	‘black cockatoo’

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| c. | 'VC.VC | / 'anen/ | ['an.ɛn] | ‘wind’ |
| d. | 'CV.VC | / 'maes/ | ['ma.ɛs] | ‘eye<3SG.POSS>’ |
| e. | CVC.'VC | /maŋ'ur/ | [maŋ.'ur] | ‘mucus’ |

2.4.2 Monomorphemic and polymorphemic words

Monomorphemic words are typically monosyllabic or disyllabic. (39a-d) and (40a-m) present several examples of these.

(39a-d) *Monosyllabic monomorphemic words*

- | | | | | |
|----|------|---------|---------|----------------|
| a. | 'V | / 'a/ | ['a] | ‘3SG.ACT-burn’ |
| b. | 'VC | / 'aw/ | ['aw] | ‘snake’ |
| c. | 'CV | / 'li/ | ['li] | ‘louse egg’ |
| d. | 'CVC | / 'bal/ | ['bal] | ‘ground’ |

(40a-m) *Disyllabic monomorphemic words*

- | | | | | |
|----|---------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| a. | 'V.VC | / 'aun/ | ['a.un] | ‘thatch roof’ |
| b. | 'V.CV | / 'aka/ | ['a.ga] | ‘sago tree’ |
| c. | V.'CVC | /e'jam/ | [e.'jam] | ‘type of shelled mollusc’ |
| d. | 'VC.VC | / 'anen/ | ['an.ɛn] | ‘wind’ |
| e. | VC.'CVC | /oj'tel/ | [oj.'tɛl] | ‘corn’ |
| f. | 'CV.V | / 'φui/ | ['φu.i] | ‘fruit’ |
| g. | 'CV.VC | / 'kaom/ | ['ka.ɔm] | ‘scorpion’ |
| h. | 'CV.CV | / 'boŋa/ | ['bo.ŋa] | ‘type of fish’ |
| i. | CV.'CV | /φa'nu/ | [φa.'nu] | ‘village’ |
| j. | CV.'CVC | /dʒe'kaj/ | [dʒɛ.'kaj] | ‘fire’ |
| k. | CVC.'VC | /maŋ'ur/ | [maŋ.'ur] | ‘mucus’ |

- l. CVC.'CV /kar'ta/ [kar.'ta] 'small rodent'
- m. CVC.'CVC /dʒer'taj/ [dʒer.'taj] 'clothing'

Trisyllabic monomorphemic words (41a-e) are rarer than monosyllabic and disyllabic words. Furthermore, some of these words may reflect features of fossilized reduplication, compounding or affixation. For example, the first syllable of (41b), /ka/, might actually be a fossilized affix derived from /'kaj/ 'wood' used with some items related to plants, as it has been noted to occur as the first syllable of a few related items. In addition, the first syllable of (41f), /gaj/, which is realized as ['gʷaj] when stressed and [gʷej] when unstressed, might be a fossilized morpheme used as a semantic marker for certain kinds of non-human living creatures, as it does occur with a large number of fish, bird and other animal names where it appears as a fossilized affix or as a separate word.²⁹

(41a-e) *Trisyllabic monomorphemic words*

- a. CV.'CV.VC /dʒa'boer/ [dʒa.'bo.er] 'type of bird'
- b. CV.'CV.VC /ka'φuag/ [ka.'φu.ag̃] 'bean'
- c. CVC.'CV.V /mat'φui/ [mat.'φu.i] 'sea cucumber'
- d. CVC.'CV.CVC /kir'dʒaban/ [kir.'dʒa.ban] 'mat'
- e. CV.'CVC.V /ta'mata/ [ta.'mat.a] 'person'
- f. CVC.CVC.CVC /gajɲar'ɲar/ [gʷej.ɲar.'ɲar] 'frog'

Polymorphemic words are formed through reduplication, compounding and affixation and are usually polysyllabic. Several examples of polysyllabic polymorphemic words are presented in (42a-h).

(42) *Polysyllabic polymorphemic words*

- a. V.'CV.'CV.VC /e'jam'maes/ [e.ɟa.'ma.ɛs] 'pearl'³⁰

²⁹ It may also be a fossilized diminutive marker, as it does occur preceeding /'gajor/ 'water' in /gaj'gajor/ [gʷej.'gʷa.jor] 'puddle'. I am uncertain if it is related to the intensifier /'gej/ ['gʷej] 'very' which appears to occur with phonemic /e/ instead of phonemic /a/. During fieldwork, I asked a Batuley speaker about the meaning of the morpheme /gaj/ that appears on the names of several non-human living creatures, but he was unable to identify any synchronic meaning for it.

³⁰ This is a compound which exhibits consonant elision with the loss of /m/. See also §2.5.3 on consonant clusters for a discussion of this example.

b. VC.CV.'CV	/ur la'la/	[ur.la.'la]	'sweet potato'
c. CV.CVC.'CVC	/kalej'laj/	[ka.lej.'laj]	'type of small lemon tree'
d. CVC.'CVC.V	/kad'kada/	[kad.'kad.a]	'RDP~knee'
e. CVC.CVC.'CVC	/dʒuŋdʒuŋ'laj/	[dʒuŋ.dʒuŋ.'laj]	'gecko' ³¹
f. CVC.CVC.'CVC.VC	/kaldʒid'dʒidar/	[kal.dʒid.'dʒid.ar]	'rainbow'
g. VC.CV.'CV.CVC	/arɸo'dudom/	[ar.ɸɔ.'du.dɔm]	'thunder'
h. VC.CV, CV.'CVC	/ur la'la 'kaj/	[ur.la., la.'kaj]	'cassava'

Many fish names display compounding and reduplication which result in lengthy polysyllabic polymorphemic words, as in the three examples presented in table 2.4. Some of these types of names appear to be partially descriptive in nature. For instance /nornor 'tabar 'ɸuɸun/ literally means 'X above the rocky seafloor', where /'tabar/ is 'rocky sea floor' and /'ɸuɸun/ is 'above'. I am unsure what /nornor/ means in this context.

Table 2.4: Examples of polysyllabic polymorphemic fish names

Syllable Structure	Phonemic Level	Phonetic Level	English
CVC, CVC.CVC.CV.'CV.CVC	/larlar dʒerta'tawan/	[lar., lar.dʒer.ta.'ta.wan]	'type of fish'
CVC.CVC, CV.CVC 'CV.CVC	/nornor 'tabar 'ɸuɸun/	[nor.nor., ta.bar.'ɸu.ɸun]	'type of fish'
CV, V.CVC.CV.CVC.'CVC	/dʒu 'aɸoj dubam'bam/	[dʒu., a.ɸoj.du.bam.'bam]	'type of shark'

2.4.3 Resyllabification

Resyllabification is a common effect of affixation. See §2.7 on morphophonology for discussions and examples illustrating resyllabification.

2.5 Phonotactics

This section describes the distribution of vowels (§2.5.1) and consonants (§2.5.2), consonant clusters (§2.5.3) and vowel sequences (§2.5.4).

2.5.1 Distribution of vowels

All vowels can occur word-initially, medially and finally. Table 2.5 illustrates this with examples for each vowel.

³¹ The term /dʒuŋdʒuŋ'laj/ for 'gecko' is used in the northernmost village of Kabalsiang. In all other Batuley villages, the term is reportedly /dʒu'dʒu/ for 'gecko'.

Table 2.5: Distribution of vowel phonemes within a word

	Initial	Medial	Final
/a/	/'at/ 'liver'	/'tam/ 'flesh'	/ta.'ra/ 'dog'
/e/	/e.'jam/ 'type of shelled mollusc'	/'bed/ 'machete'	/su.'ke/ 'fish net'
/i/	/'il/ 'male'	/'mir/ 'crab'	/'li/ 'louse egg'
/o/	/oj.'tel/ 'corn'	/'tor/ 'chicken'	/'dʒo/ 'blow'
/u/	/'ur/ 'tuber'	/'kum/ 'stone'	/'φu/ 'heart'

2.5.2 Distribution of consonants

Consonant phonemes occur word-initially, medially and finally. Only /w/ does not occur word-initially, unless in borrowed words. Word-medially, all consonants can occur intervocalically across syllable boundaries. However, there are restrictions word-medially in consonant clusters formed across syllable boundaries. /dʒ/ does not occur in a V_C environment word-medially, and /j/ does not occur in a C_V environment word-medially. In addition, although word-final /dʒ/ is possible, it only occurs before /e/ and in borrowed words such as /'medʒ/ 'table' and /ga'redʒ/ 'church'. Table 2.6 illustrates the distribution of consonant phonemes within a word with examples. Some consonant clusters present in the examples of table 2.6 are caused by morphophonemic changes due to affixation (see §2.7 on morphophonology). In table 2.6, † indicates that the consonant cluster is caused by morphophonemic changes due to affixation.

Table 2.6: Distribution of consonants phonemes

	Word-Initial (Onset)	Word-Medial			Word Final (Coda)
		V_V	C_V	V_C	
/b/	/'bed/ 'machete'	/'ri.bil/ 'type of arrow'	/boŋ.'boŋ/ 'belly button'	/ab.ki.'ki/ 'butterfly' ³²	/'ob/ 'where'
/t/	/'ta.bar/ 'seed'	/φa.'ri.tan/ 'betel vine'	/kar.'ta/ 'small rodent'	/mat.'φui/ 'sea cucumber'	/'φat/ 'deadweight anchor'
/d/	/'da.φal/ 'type of spear'	/a'.da.ul/ 'wing'	/ar.'de.la/ 'lightning'	/bed.'lun/ 'back-3PL.POSS'†	/'kad/ 'trousers'
/k/	/'ka.lej/ 'boat'	/dʒe.'kaj/ 'fire'	/kaφ.'kaφ/ 'type of crab'	/sok.'sok.oj/ 'RDP~small'	/gar.'dok/ 'depression'
/g/	/'gu.on/ 'rain'	/o'go.go/ 'ash'	/ser.gu.'sin/ 'mushroom'	/'tag.'runj/ 'ear-1SG.POSS'†	/'bog/ 'canoe'
/m/	/'mer/ 'day'	/a'.mer/ 'the day after tomorrow'	/kol.'maj/ 'mud'	/ku.dom.'saj/ 'cloud'	/'am/ '3SG.ACT:be.at'
/n/	/'naw/ 'sugar palm'	/a.'nis/ 'flying fox'	/mar.'nam/ 'type of turtle'	/ran.'tej/ 'necklace'	/'ko.in/ '1SG.ACT:sleep'

³² The term /abki'ki/ for 'butterfly' is used in most Batuley villages except in the southernmost village of Sewer, where it is /abuka'ka/, and the northernmost village of Kabalsiang, where it is /abka'ka/.

/ŋ/	/'ŋaɸ/ 'left'	/maŋ.'ur/ 'mucus'	/ler.'ŋon/ 'type of bird'	/ɸuŋ.'ɸuŋ.ar/ 'citrus fruit tree'	/'laŋ/ 'type of arrow'
/r/	/'ri/ 'dugong'	/'dʒa.ran/ 'parrot'	/kab.'ra.sek/ 'type of fish'	/mar.'nam/ 'type of turtle'	/'tu.bor/ 'stomach'
/ɸ/	/'ɸaɸ/ 'nature'	/'ɸu.ɸun/ 'top'	/mat.'ɸui/ 'sea cucumber'	/kuɸ.'li/ '1SG.ACT- open:RSYL'†	/'leɸ/ 'house'
/s/	/'sel/ 'type of rock edge'	/ɸa.'si.en/ 'beach'	/seb.'seb.er/ 'foam'	/'laes.kem/ 'three-2PL.ANI'	/'ɸis/ 'night'
/dʒ/	/'dʒu/ 'shark'	/dʒu.'dʒu/ 'gecko'	/ɸer.'dʒa/ 'pigeon'	-	borrowed words
/l/	/'lis/ 'hammerhead shark'	/a.'lej/ 'flipper'	/ta.ɸer.'la.ra/ 'sun'	/al.'kaj/ 'black cockatoo'	/'ɸol/ 'breast'
/w/	borrowed words	/'a.wej/ 'gill'	/a.wel.'wel/ 'type of bird'	/'kaw.kem/ 'four-2PL.ANI'	/'aw/ 'snake'
/j/	/'ja.i/ 'grandmother'	/'a.jar/ 'kangaroo'	-	/gej.'ta/ 'cockatoo'	/'kaj/ 'wood/tree'

2.5.3 Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters occur across syllable and morpheme boundaries. There are no syllable internal consonant clusters. (43a-c) illustrate examples of consonant clusters which occur across syllable boundaries.

- (43) a. /ser'gusin/ [sɛr'gu.sin] 'mushroom'
- b. /kab'rasek/ [kab.'ra.sek] ~ [kab.'ra.sek'] 'type of fish'
- c. /abdʒu'sin/ [ab.dʒu.'sin] 'type of bird'

Consonant clusters occur across morpheme boundaries as a result of affixation, compounding and reduplication. (44a) presents an example of a consonant cluster occurring across morpheme boundaries due to suffixation. (44b) presents an example of a consonant cluster occurring across morpheme boundaries due to compounding of /'kaj/ 'wood/tree' and /'ran/ 'branch'. (44c) presents an example of a consonant cluster occurring across morpheme boundaries due to reduplication. See also §2.7 on morphophonology and §2.8 on reduplication.

- (44) a. /laes'kom/ [la.ɛs.'kom] 'three-1PL.EXCL.ANI'
- b. /kaj'ran/ [kej.'ran] 'tree branch'³³

³³ INANIMATE noun. /kaj'ran/ means 'sister' when ANIMATE. Refer to §4.3 for a description of Batuley's gender system.

c. / ϕ ug 'fugar/ [ϕ ug.' ϕ ug.ar] 'RDP~hill'

When two of the same consonants appear side by side across syllable and morpheme boundaries, consonant elision takes place. This occurs especially in rapid speech (45a-c). In (45a) for instance, the /m/ of /e'jam/ is elided because the following element of the compound begins with /m/. Geminate consonants formed through reduplication are always reduced so that the consonant coda of the reduplicant is elided, as in (45b-c). See also §2.8.2.3 under reduplication.

(45) a. /e'jam 'maes/ [e.ja.'ma.ɛs] 'pearl'

b. /gag'gagen/ [ga.'gag.ɛn] 'RDP~pretty-3SG.ANI.STV'
(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:22)

c. /tut'tut/ [tu.'tut] 'RDP~startle' (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:4)

2.5.4 Vowel sequences

2.5.4.1 Vowel sequences

There is no phonemic vowel length contrast in Batuley. Furthermore, there are no syllable internal vowel clusters. Vowel clusters only occur across syllable and morpheme boundaries. (46a-h) illustrate examples of vowel clusters which occur across syllable and morpheme boundaries.

(46) a. / ϕ a'sien/ [ϕ a.'si.ɛn] 'beach'

b. /ga'lian/ [g^wa.'li.an] 'sibling'

c. /' ϕ ui/ [' ϕ u.i] 'fruit'

d. /ma'luar/ [ma.'lu.ar] 'type of fish'

e. /'koin/ ['ko.in] '1SG.ACT:sleep/lie.down'

f. /at'doan/ [at.'do.an] '3SG.ACT-emerge'

g. /'raun/ ['ra.un] 'leaf'

h. /a'em/ ['a.ɛm] 'father<3SG.POSS>'

2.5.4.2 Sequence of like vowels

I have observed only one instance of a sequence of like vowels in Batuley. This occurs with the vowel /o/ in the word / ϕ oor/ [' ϕ o.or] 'bow' as in (47). In rapid speech, the vowels of / ϕ oor/

‘bow’ are realized as two like vowels [‘ ϕ o.or] (or a single long vowel [‘ ϕ o:r]). More commonly and in careful speech, the two vowels are separated by an epenthetic phonetic glide [w] as in [‘ ϕ o.wor].

(47) / ϕ oor/ [‘ ϕ o.or] ~ [‘ ϕ o.wor] ‘bow’

2.5.4.3 Phonetic glide insertion

Word-medial vowel clusters (within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries) are usually separated by an epenthetic phonetic glide [w]. The phonetic glide insertion is especially apparent between like vowels across syllable boundaries as in example (47) above. It is optionally present, especially in careful speech, in several other instances where vowel sequences occur across syllable boundaries, as shown in (48a-d). Phonetic glide insertion occurs before rounded vowels, as in (47) above and (48a-b), and before unrounded vowels, as in (48c-d).

- (48) a. /‘guon/ [‘gu.ɔn] ~ [‘gu.wɔn] ‘rain’
 b. /re‘on/ [re.‘on] ~ [re.‘won] ‘ladder’
 c. /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ~ [‘ ϕ u.wi] ‘fruit’
 d. /‘bui/ [‘bu.i] ~ [bu.wi] ‘areca nut’

Note that phonetic glide insertion distinguishes some words from their near-homophones. In rapid speech, /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ‘fruit’ is perceptually homophonic with the stative verb of completion /‘ ϕ uj/ [‘ ϕ uj] ‘complete’. This is because the final semivowel of /‘ ϕ uj/ [‘ ϕ uj] ‘complete’ has the same perceptual quality as the final vowel of /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ‘fruit’. The difference lies in the syllabification of these words. /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ~ [‘ ϕ u.wi] ‘fruit’ is analyzed as a two syllable ‘CV.(C)V, while /‘ ϕ uj/ [‘ ϕ uj] ‘complete’ is analyzed as one syllable, ‘CVC. This interpretation is in line with my analysis of Batuley’s syllable structure. The optional epenthetic phonetic glide insertion in /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ~ [‘ ϕ u.wi] ‘fruit’ exposes the phonetic distinction between /‘ ϕ ui/ [‘ ϕ u.i] ~ [‘ ϕ u.wi] ‘fruit’ and /‘ ϕ uj/ [‘ ϕ uj] ‘complete’ even more clearly.

2.5.4.4 Vowel elision

Some vowel elision is present with prefixation that occurs on active verbs. Refer to §2.7.1 on the morphophonology of prefixation for a discussion of this phenomenon.

2.6 Stress

This section covers an introductory discussion on the basic properties of stress (§2.6.1) and the effects of primary stress placement (§2.6.2).

2.6.1 Basic properties of stress

Stress is phonemic in Batuley. Although stress most often falls on the penultimate syllable of a word, it is not entirely predictable. Furthermore, there are at least two minimal pair sets whose words are distinguished on the basis of stress, as shown in (49a-b) and (50a-b).

(49) a. /'taϕur/ ['ta.ϕur] 'papeda' (i.e., 'sago congee')

b. /ta'ϕur/ [ta.'ϕur] 'shelled mollusc'

(50) a. /'kaliŋ/ ['ka.liŋ] 'skin/body-1SG.POSS'

b. /ka'liŋ/ [ka.'liŋ] 'fishing line'

Affixes are not usually stressed. Stress predominately only falls on the root. In (51a-c), stress falls on the verb root.

(51) a. /ku'toϕlun/

[ku.'toϕ.lun]

ku-toϕl-un

1SG.ACT-wash:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.PAT

'I wash it' (i.e., a shirt)

b. /'taϕsit/

['taϕ.sitː]

taϕ-sit

short-1PL.INCL.STV

'we are short'

c. /arϕali'liun/

[ar.ϕa.li.'li.un]

a-r-fa < li > li-un

3SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-3SG.ANI.PAT

'he rolls over'

2.6.2 Effects of primary stress placement

Compounding (§2.6.2.1) and alternations in phrasal stress (§2.6.2.2) have an effect on primary stress placement. §2.2.2.4 above details how primary stress placement conditions vowel dissimilation for the phoneme /a/. The environments which trigger a shift in primary stress are summarized below.

2.6.2.1 Compounding

Compounding triggers a shift in primary stress. Compare the primary stress placement in (52a-b). With the addition of the modifying noun /'taj/ 'sea water', the primary stress of the compound headed by /'aw/ shifts to the right in (52b) and falls on /'taj/ 'sea'.

- (52) a. /'aw/ ['aw] 'snake'
 b. /'aw 'taj/ [,aw 'taj] 'sea water snake'

2.6.2.2 Alternation in phrasal stress

A change in phrasal stress placement triggers a shift in primary stress. Compare the primary stress placement in (53a-b). When the pronoun /'naj/ '3SG' stands alone, as in (53a), it carries primary stress. However, when followed by a verb, /'naj/ '3SG' is usually unemphasized and thus unstressed. The verb carries the primary stress for the clause. Nevertheless, note that for the purpose of emphasising the pronoun in utterances like (53b), speakers can and do use /'naj/ ['naj] '3SG' without dissimilating the vowel /a/.

- (53) a. /'naj/ ['naj] '3SG'
 b. /'naj a'mael/
 [,nej a.'ma.ɛl] ~ ['naj a.'ma.ɛl]
 nai a-mael
 3SG 3SG.ACT-laugh
 's/he laughs'

2.7 Morphophonology

This section describes the morphophonology of prefixation (§2.7.1), suffixation (§2.7.2), ablaut/inflection (§2.7.3) and root mutations (§2.7.4). In the tables of this section, † indicates that the verb is an active verb (see §3 on verbal morphology).

2.7.1 Prefixation

This sub-section describes agreement prefixes (§2.7.1.1) and fused prefixes and roots (§2.7.1.2).

2.7.1.1 Agreement prefixes

There are two sets of agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs. These are presented in table 2.7. These sets are allomorphic. Set I agreement prefixes are the most common and occur in all other environments where Set II prefixes do not occur. Set II prefixes occur before the intransitivizing prefix /r-/. See §3.6 for the functions of the intransitivizing prefix /r-/.

Table 2.7: Agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs

	Set I	Set II
1SG	ku-	ko-
2SG	mu-	mo-
3SG	a-	a-
1PL.INCL	ta-	ta-
1PL.EXCL	ma-	ma-
2PL	mi-	mina-
3PL	da-	da-

Tables 2.8 and 2.9 illustrate Set I and II agreement prefixes with fully inflected verb paradigm examples.

Table 2.8: Example of Set I prefixes with /'ϕar/ 'search'†

1SG	ku.-'ϕar
2SG	mu.-'ϕar
3SG	a.-'ϕar
1PL.INCL	ta.-'ϕar
1PL.EXCL	ma.-'ϕar
2PL	mi.-'ϕar
3PL	da.-'ϕar

Table 2.9: Example of Set II prefixes with /'ma.en/ 'float'†

1SG	ko-r.-'ma.en
2SG	mo-r.-'ma.en
3SG	a-r.-'ma.en
1PL.INCL	ta-r.-'ma.en
1PL.EXCL	ma-r.-'ma.en
2PL	mi.na-r.-'ma.en
3PL	da-r.-'ma.en

There is one lexicalized exception to Set II prefixation. As discussed in §3.6.6, a few verbs obligatorily take the intransitivizing prefix /r-/. The verb /'rag/ 'know'† is one such verb, but has lexicalized the use of the intransitivizing prefix /r-/ to the extent that it is now a fossilized part of the verb stem. It takes Set II prefixes for all person-number forms, except for the 2PL, where it usually takes the Set I prefix. The Set II prefix for the 2PL is optional but not preferred. Table 2.10 illustrates the full paradigm for the verb /'rag/ 'know'†.

Table 2.10: Lexicalized exception to Set II prefixation: /'rag/ 'know/understand'†

1SG	ko-.'rag
2SG	mo-.'rag
3SG	a-.'rag
1PL.INCL	ta-.'rag
1PL.EXCL	ma-.'rag
2PL	mi-.'rag ; mi.na-r.'ag
3PL	da-.'rag

In addition to Sets I and II prefixation environments, Set I prefixes exhibit vowel elision before /a/-initial verb roots when stress falls on the initial syllable of the verb root. Table 2.11 presents an example of Set I prefixation vowel elision with /'aor/ 'cut'†. There is one exception in my corpus; this is the verb /estan'kada/ 'kneel'†, which also displays vowel elision of Set I prefixes despite not being an /a/-initial verb root.

Table 2.11: Example of Set I prefixation vowel elision with /'a.or/ 'cut'†

1SG	'k-a.or
2SG	'm-a.or
3SG	'a.or
1PL.INCL	't-a.or
1PL.EXCL	'm-a.or
2PL	mi-.'a.or
3PL	'd-a.or

Table 2.12 lists the verbs from my data that exhibit this type of vowel elision.

Table 2.12: Verbs which exhibit Set I prefixation vowel elision

Verb Root	English
'a	'burn'†
'an	'shoot'†
'at	'fold'†
'a.or	'cut'†
'a.es	'stab'†
'a.es	'throw'†
'aφ.ol	'ascend'†

2.7.1.2 Fused prefixes and roots

Batuley has a number of irregular active verbs where the agreement prefix (mostly Set II) has fused with the verb root forming a one or two syllable word. Stress falls on the initial syllable of

the verb, except for the 2PL forms where stress falls on the final syllable if the verb contains more than one syllable. Irregular active verbs cannot take the intransitivizing prefix /r-/. Table 2.13 below presents the fully inflected paradigms of the eight irregular active verbs.

	‘be at’	‘cause/ do’	‘drink’	‘sleep/ lie down’	‘carry/ bring’	‘get/give’	‘want/ say’	‘eat’
1SG	‘kum	‘kom	‘kon	‘koin	‘kuɸ	‘kol	‘kog	‘kug
2SG	‘mum	‘mom	‘mon	‘moin	‘muɸ	‘mol	‘mog	‘mug
3SG	‘am	‘nam	‘nen	‘nin	‘aɸ	‘nal	‘nag	‘ag
1PL.INCL	‘tam	‘tam	‘sen	‘sin	‘taɸ	‘tal	‘tag	‘tag
1PL.EXCL	‘mam	‘mam	‘men	‘min	‘maɸ	‘mal	‘mag	‘mag
2PL	‘mim	mi. ‘nam	mi. ‘nen	mi. ‘nin	‘miɸ	mi. ‘nal	mi. ‘nag	‘mig
3PL	‘dam	‘dam	‘den	‘din	‘daɸ	‘dal	‘dag	‘dag

In reduplicated relative clause constructions, the fused prefix and the root of an irregular active verb reduplicate together, as in (54). Regular active verbs which exhibit Set I prefixation do not behave in this way. In contrast, the prefix of a regular active verb does not reduplicate along with the verb root because the two are not fused, as in (55).

(55) /ta.'ma.ta **da.-lem.'**lem 'ta.bol 'en.on/
tamata dalem~lem tabol enon
 person 3PL.ACT-RDP~care.for animal MED.SG.INA
 'the shepherds' (lit. 'the people who look after animals')

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 2:8)

Verbs which exhibit Set I prefixation vowel elision are similar in form to irregular active verbs in that they carry initial stress (for most person-number forms), but they are different in that they display vowel elision in the agreement prefixes. In contrast, the irregular active verbs appear to have retained the /u/ or /o/ vowel of the fused agreement prefixes. Moreover, as evidenced in (56), verbs that show vowel elision in their prefixation can take the intransitivizing prefix /r-/. Irregular active verbs cannot take the intransitivizing prefix /r-/. In (56a), the Set I prefix is employed and its vowel is elided because the verb /'an/ 'shoot' is /a/-initial and has initial stress. In (56b), the same verb root is preceded by the intransitivizing /r-/ prefix. This environment triggers the use of the Set II prefix.

- (56) a. /'d-an.-en/ '3PL.ACT-shot-3SG.ANI.PAT' ('they shot him')
- b. /da-r.-'an.~an.-ej/ '3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~shoot-3PL.PAT' ('they shot each other')

2.7.2 Suffixation

This sub-section describes suffixation on verbs (§2.7.2.1), numerals (§2.7.2.2) and nouns (§2.7.2.3). Refer to §3.8 for a reflection on the historical processes which may have resulted in the numerous suffixation sets.

2.7.2.1 Suffixation on verbs

2.7.2.1.1 Suffixes for stative S-marking

There are three sets of suffixes for stative S-marking. These are presented in table 2.14. The sets of suffixes are not allomorphic. They are decided lexically by the class of the verb (see §3.4.1). There may be more sets and sub-sets of suffixes. Further investigation is required in this area. The 3SG.INA is unmarked and is therefore excluded from the following tables (see §3.4.4 for a discussion on this lack of suffixation).

Table 2.14 presents the stative S suffixes. Note that Set II is composed of two sub-sets. The difference between the two sub-sets hinges on the 3SG.ANI marker. In Set IIa, it is a suffix, while in Set IIb, it is the /e/ ablaut. See §2.7.3.1 on the verbal ablaut for further discussion.

Table 2.14: Stative S suffixes

	Set I	Set IIa	Set IIb	Set III
1SG	-iŋ	-uŋ	-uŋ	-aŋ
2SG	-ig	-ug	-ug	-eg
3SG.ANI	-in	-un	a → e / _C#	-en
1PL.INCL	-sit	-sit	-sit	-sit
1PL.EXCL	-kom	-kom	-kom	-kom
2PL	-kem	-kem	-kem	-kem
3PL	-i	-uj	-uj	-ej

Tables 2.15 to 2.18 illustrate each set and sub-set of suffixes with full verb paradigm examples.

Table 2.15: Example of Set I suffixes with /'ra.re/ 'be hot'

1SG	'ra.r-iŋ
2SG	'ra.r-ig
3SG.ANI	'ra.r-in
1PL.INCL	'ra.re.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'ra.re.-kom
2PL	'ra.re.-kem
3PL	'ra.r-i

Table 2.16: Example of Set IIa suffixes with /'toŋ.ar/ 'be correct'

1SG	'toŋ.r-uŋ
2SG	'toŋ.r-ug
3SG.ANI	'toŋ.r-un
1PL.INCL	'toŋ.ar.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'toŋ.ar.-kom
2PL	'toŋ.ar.-kem
3PL	'toŋ.r-uj

Table 2.17: Example of Set IIb suffixes with /ka.'na.war/ 'be hungry'

1SG	ka.'naw.r-uŋ
2SG	ka.'naw.r-ug
3SG.ANI	ka.'na.w<e>r
1PL.INCL	ka.'na.war.-sit
1PL.EXCL	ka.'na.war.-kom
2PL	ka.'na.war.-kem
3PL	ka.'naw.r-i

Table 2.18: Example of Set III suffixes with /'dʒob/ 'be good'

1SG	'dʒo.b-aŋ
2SG	'dʒo.b-eg
3SG.ANI	'dʒo.b-en
1PL.INCL	'dʒob.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'dʒob.-kom
2PL	'dʒob.-kem
3PL	'dʒo.b-ej

2.7.2.1.2 Suffixes for P pronominal marking

There are four sets of suffixes for P pronominal marking. These are presented in table 2.19. The sets of suffixes are not allomorphic. They are decided lexically by the class of the verb (see §3.4.3). Further investigation is required in this area because there may be more sets and sub-sets of suffixes. The 3SG.INA is unmarked and is therefore excluded from the following tables (see §3.4.4). Although the forms for the first three sets of P pronominal marking suffixes are the same as those for stative S-marking (see §2.7.2.1.1 above), syntactically the stative S and P pronominal suffixes function differently (see §3.4.5).

Table 2.19 presents the P pronominal suffixes. Note that Set II is composed of two sub-sets. The difference between the two sub-sets hinges on the 3SG.ANI marker. In Set IIa it is a suffix, while in Set IIb it is the /e/ ablaut. See §2.7.3.1 on the verbal ablaut for further discussion.

Table 2.19: P pronominal suffixes

	Set I	Set IIa	Set IIb	Set III	Set IV
1SG	-iŋ	-uŋ	-uŋ	-aŋ	-oŋ
2SG	-ig	-ug	-ug	-eg	-ag
3SG.ANI	-in	-un	a → e / _C#	-en	-on
1PL.INCL	-sit	-sit	-sit	-sit	-ojsit
1PL.EXCL	-kom	-kom	-kom	-kom	-ojkom
2PL	-kem	-kem	-kem	-kem	-ojkem
3PL	-i	-uj	-uj	-ej	-oji

Tables 2.20 to 2.24 illustrate each set and sub-set of suffixes with full verb paradigm examples. There is only one Class IV transitive active verb in my corpus. It is the irregular active verb *af* ‘3SG.ACT:carry’. This unique verb takes Set IV P pronominal suffixes. Table 2.24 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of this set of P pronominal suffixes.

Table 2.20: Example of Set I suffixes with /'rir/ ‘push’† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'ri.r-iŋ
2SG	a.-'ri.r-ig
3SG.ANI	a.-'ri.r-in
1PL.INCL	a.-'rir.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'rir.-kom
2PL	a.-'rir.-kem
3PL	a.-'ri.r-i

Table 2.21: Example of Set IIa suffixes with /'ka/ 'hunt/chase'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'ka.-uŋ
2SG	a.-'ka.-ug
3SG.ANI	a.-'ka.-un
1PL.INCL	a.-'ka.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'ka.-kom
2PL	a.-'ka.-kem
3PL	a.-'ka.-uj

Table 2.22: Example of Set IIb suffixes with /'da.war/ 'hit'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'daw.r-uŋ
2SG	a.-'daw.r-ug
3SG.ANI	a.-'da.w<e>r
1PL.INCL	a.-'da.war.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'da.war.-kom
2PL	a.-'da.war.-kem
3PL	a.-'daw.r-uj

Table 2.23: Example of Set III suffixes with /ka.'lag/ 'hide'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a-k.'la.g-aŋ
2SG	a-k.'la.g-eg
3SG.ANI	a-k.'la.g-en
1PL.INCL	a-k.'lag.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a-k.'lag.-kom
2PL	a-k.'lag.-kem
3PL	a-k.'la.g-ej

Table 2.24: Example of Set IV suffixes with /'af/ '3SG.ACT:carry'†

1SG	'a.f-oŋ
2SG	'a.f-og
3SG.ANI	'a.f-on
1PL.INCL	'a.f-oj.sit
1PL.EXCL	'a.f-oj.kom
2PL	'a.f-oj.kem
3PL	'a.f-oj.i

2.7.2.2 Suffixation on numerals

There is one set of ANIMACY marking suffixes that occur on numerals. Table 2.25 presents these suffixes. Note that 1SG and 2SG suffixation for numerals is impossible. There are three

different 3PL.ANI suffixes. They are decided lexically by the numeral. Refer to §4.5.1.2 for a discussion of the morphosyntax of suffixation on numerals.

Table 2.25: Suffixes that occur on numerals

3SG.ANI	-un
1PL.INCL.ANI	-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	-kom
2PL.ANI	-kem
3PL.ANI	-i -ej -uj

Only the numeral /'et/ 'one' can take the 3SG.ANI suffix /-un/ due to the singularity of its meaning. Tables 2.26 to 2.28 illustrate the different plural suffixes with the numerals, /'laes/ 'three', /'kaw/ 'four' and /'ser/ 'nine' as examples. Refer to table 4.12 in §4.5.1.2.1 for a list of which numerals occur with each of the 3PL.ANI suffixes.

Table 2.26: Example of suffixes that occur on numerals: /'la.es/ 'three'

1PL.INCL.ANI	'la.es.-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	'la.es.-kom
2PL.ANI	'la.es.-kem
3PL.ANI	'la.s-i

Table 2.27: Example of suffixes that occur on numerals: /'kaw/ 'four'

1PL.INCL.ANI	'kaw.-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	'kaw.-kom
2PL.ANI	'kaw.-kem
3PL.ANI	'ka.w-ej

Table 2.28: Example of suffixes that occur on numerals: /'ser/ 'nine'

1PL.INCL.ANI	'ser.-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	'ser.-kom
2PL.ANI	'ser.-kem
3PL.ANI	'se.r-uj

2.7.2.3 Suffixation on nouns

There are three main sets of suffixes for marking inalienable possession on nouns. The sets are not allomorphic. They are decided lexically by the class of the noun. There is a great deal of irregularity in the suffixation system for inalienably possessed nouns. This is likely due to historical irregularities and the current situation of language change (see §4.9.3). This sub-section

highlights the major patterns of suffixation on nouns. The discussion is highly tentative. For more on inalienably possessed nouns, refer to §4.9.1.

Table 2.29 presents the main suffixation patterns for inalienably possessed nouns and is followed by examples illustrating their use. Note that the 3SG.POSS is often an ablaut (refer to §2.7.3.2). Furthermore, due to irregularity and language change, the 2SG.POSS and 3SG.POSS are sometimes unmarked (indicated with a hyphen in table 2.29). The 3SG.POSS in the examples in tables 2.31 and 2.32 is unmarked. Tables 2.30 to 2.32 illustrate each set with full paradigm examples.

Table 2.29: Main inalienable possessive suffixes

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	-iŋ	-uŋ	-aŋ
2SG	-em ; -	-om ; -	-am ; -
3SG	a → e / _C# ; -	e → i / _C# ; -	a → e / _C# ; -
PL	-in	-un	-en

Table 2.30: Example of Set I suffixes with /'gal-/ ‘younger sibling’

1SG	'ga.l-iŋ
2SG	'ga.l-em
3SG	'ga.<e>l
PL	'ga.l-in

Table 2.31: Example of Set II suffixes with /'ta.ger/ ‘head’

1SG	'tag.r-uŋ
2SG	'ta.ger
3SG	'ta.ger
PL	'tag.r-un

Table 2.32: Example of Set III suffixes with /'dʒin/ ‘mother’

1SG	'dʒi.n-aŋ
2SG	'dʒi.n-am
3SG	'dʒin
PL	'dʒi.n-en

In addition to the main inalienable possessive suffixation patterns presented in table 2.29 above, table 2.33 gives the suffixation paradigms for the irregular inalienably possessed nouns /'an-/ ‘child’, /'dʒa.nan/ ‘mother-in-law’ and /'gul/ ‘head’. Tables 2.34 and 2.36 illustrate their use. Note that /'an-/ has irregular 2SG.POSS and PL.POSS suffixation, while /'dʒanan/ is unique in that its 1SG.POSS marker consists of word-final nasal velarization and its PL.POSS is unmarked.

Furthermore, /'gul/ has an optional irregular 3SG.POSS /i/ infix when carrying main stress in a compound. There are more irregular inalienably possessed nouns with different suffixation patterns, but they remain a topic for future investigation.

Table 2.33: Irregular suffixation paradigms

	/'an-/	/'dʒa.nan/	/'gul/
1SG	-aŋ	n → ŋ / _#	-uŋ
2SG	-aɡ	-	-om
3SG	a → e / _C#	a → e / _C#	_ → i / 'V_ ; -
PL	-uin	-	-in

Table 2.34: Irregular suffixation: /'an-/ 'child'

1SG	'a.n-aŋ	child-1SG.POSS
2SG	'a.n-aɡ	child-2SG.POSS
3SG	'a.n<e>s	child<3SG.POSS>
PL	'an.k-u.in	child-PL.POSS

Table 2.35: Irregular suffixation: /'dʒa.nan/ 'mother-in-law'

1SG	'dʒa.n-aŋ
2SG	'dʒa.nan
3SG	'dʒa.n<e>n
PL	'dʒa.nan

Table 2.36: Irregular suffixation: /'gul/ 'head'

1SG	'gu.l-uŋ
2SG	'gu.l-om
3S	'gu<i>l ; 'gul
PL	'gu.l-in

2.7.3 Ablaut/Infixation

As seen in §2.7.2.1 and §2.7.2.3 above, verbal suffixation and nominal inalienable possession suffixation paradigms exhibit a vowel ablaut/infix in the 3SG. With the ablaut process, a root vowel /a/ or /e/ is raised to /e/ or /i/, respectively. The presence of the ablaut is not predictable and appears to be a remnant of an older inflection in Proto-Aru as mentioned in Takata (1991: 48-49) and de Winne (2013a: 12 fn.2, 44). The verbal ablaut is described in §2.7.3.1 and the nominal inalienable possessive ablaut/infix is discussed in §2.7.3.2.

2.7.3.1 Verbal ablaut

From tables 2.14 and 2.19 above, we see that Set IIb S-marking and P pronominal suffixes make use of an ablaut to mark the 3SG.ANI by raising the final vowel /a/ of the verb root to /e/. The presence of the /e/ ablaut is not predictable.³⁴

There are very few verbs in my corpus which take Set IIb suffixation. Verbs which take Set IIb suffixation are Class IIb verbs and are listed in table 2.37.

Table 2.37: Class IIb verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
'da.war	'hit'†
'de.ŋal	'strike'†
'dʒa.man	'ask'†
ka.'na.war	'be hungry'
'su.al	'grasp'†
'ta.war	'call'†

Examples of the Set IIb /e/ ablaut for some of the Class IIb verbs presented in table 2.37 are given in (57a-d). See table 2.17 above for the full inflectional paradigm of the Class IIb verb, /'ka.'na.war/ 'hungry', as an illustration of Set IIb full suffixation.

- (57) a. /ku.-'da.w<e>r/ '1SG.ACT-hit<3SG..ANI.PAT>'†
 b. /ka.'na.w<e>r/ 'hungry<3SG.ANI.STV>'
 c. /ku.-'su.<e>l/ '1SG.ACT-grasp<3SG.ANI.PAT>'†
 d. /ku.-'ta.w<e>r/ '1SG.ACT-call<3SG.ANI.PAT>'†

2.7.3.2 Nominal ablaut/inflection

From table 2.29 and 2.33 above, we see that inalienably possessed nouns can make use of an ablaut to mark the 3SG.POSS. With this process, the final vowel /a/ or /e/ of the noun root is raised to /e/ or /i/, respectively. The presence of the /e/ and /i/ ablaut is not predictable.³⁵

Nouns which can take the 3SG.POSS ablaut/inflection are listed in table 2.38. /'an-/ 'child' and /'mat-/ have irregular roots for the 3SG.POSS, as discussed in §2.7.4.3. These are /'anes/ 'child<3SG.POSS>' and /'maes/ 'eye<3SG.POSS>', respectively.

³⁴ A similar vowel change takes place in Kola in some doubly-marked 3SG.ANI stative verbs (de Winne 2013a: 44-45). In Dobel, the vowel change occurs for 3SG.INA undergoers instead of 3SG.ANI undergoers (Hughes 2000: 140, 142-143).

³⁵ Similar vowel change processes are present in the inalienably possessive marking systems of Kola (de Winne 2013a: 31) and Dobel (Hughes 2000: 140, 144-145).

Table 2.38: Inalienably possessed nouns which take the 3SG.POSS ablaut/infix

Noun	English
'am	'father'
'an-	'child'
' ϕ a ϕ	'mouth'
'gal	'younger sibling'
'gul	'head'
'dʒa.nan	'mother-in-law'
'ler	'voice'
'mat-	'eye'

Examples of the ablaut for some of the nouns presented in table 2.38 are given in (58a-g). Note that /'ler/ 'voice' is the only example of the /i/ ablaut because it is the only noun with a root /e/ vowel. As such, the /e/ is raised to /i/. In all other nouns in table 2.38, the root vowel is /a/ and is therefore only raised as high as /e/, as seen by the presence of the /e/ ablaut. Notable exceptions to the ablaut process are /'am/ 'father', /' ϕ a ϕ / 'mouth', /'gal/ 'younger sibling' and /'mat-/ 'eye' whose 3SG.POSS forms appear to insert /e/ as an infix rather than mutate the root /a/ to /e/, as with the ablaut process. The unusual 3SG.POSS /i/ insertion for the irregular noun /'gul/ (see §2.7.2.3 above for the paradigm) is similar. These forms likely reflect an older system of vowel insertion or metathesis which has led to the ablaut process in other nouns. Note that when unstressed in a nominal compound, the root vowel /a/ is elided in /' ϕ a ϕ / 'mouth', /'gal/ 'younger sibling' and /'mat-/ 'eye', making it appear as if the ablaut process is indeed active in these nouns. This phenomenon is illustrated in (59a-b).

- (58) a. /'a.<e>m/ 'father<3SG.POSS>
b. /'a.n<e>s/ 'child<3SG.POSS>
c. /' ϕ a.<e> ϕ / 'mouth<3SG.POSS>
d. /'ga.<e>l/ 'younger.sibling<3SG.POSS>
e. /'dʒa.n<e>n/ 'mother-in-law<3SG.POSS>
f. /'l<i>r/ 'voice<3SG.POSS>
g. /'ma.<e>s/ 'eye<3SG.POSS>

- (59) a. /, ϕ <e> ϕ 'ka.lej/ 'mouth<3SG.POSS> skin/body' (i.e., 'lip')

b. /,m<e>s 'ta.ŋel/ 'eye<3SG.POSS> brow' (i.e., 'eyebrow')

2.7.4 Root mutations

Batuley displays verb (§2.7.4.1), numeral (§2.7.4.2) and noun root mutations (§2.7.4.3).

2.7.4.1 Verb root mutations

2.7.4.1.1 Suffixing mutations

Several verbs consist of a bare root and a suffixing root. The bare root occurs with the 1PL.INCL, 1PL.EXCL, 2PL and 3SG.INA stative S and P pronominal suffixes. The suffixing root occurs with all other singular person stative S and P pronominal suffixes and the 3PL stative S and P pronominal suffixes. The 3SG.INA is unaffixed (see §3.4.4) and is therefore excluded from the following tables. Verb root mutation is lexical. It is not predictable, yet it is productive in that it does appear to affect some verb roots borrowed from Malay. There are two major patterns and a few minor patterns of verb root mutation.

Pattern 1 verbs are consonant final and lose a non-final vowel in their suffixing roots. Tables 2.39 and 2.40 provide the full paradigms for pattern 1 verbs /'di.en/ 'be heavy' and /'utar/ 'turn'†.

Table 2.39: Example of a pattern 1 verb: /'di.en/ 'be heavy'

1SG	'di.n-uŋ
2SG	'di.n-ug
3SG.ANI	'di.n-un
1PL.INCL	'di.en.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'di.en.-kom
2PL	'di.en.-kem
3PL	'di.n-uj

Table 2.40: Example of a pattern 1 verb: /'u.tar/ 'turn'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'ut.r-uŋ
2SG	a.-'ut.r-ug
3SG.ANI	a.-'ut.r-un
1PL.INCL	a.-'u.tar.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'u.tar.-kom
2PL	a.-'u.tar.-kem
3PL	a.-'ut.r-uj

Table 2.41 lists the bare roots and suffixing roots for all pattern 1 verbs from my data.

Table 2.41: Pattern 1 verbs

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'aɸ.ol	'aɸ.l-	'ascend'†
'daj.an	'daj.n-	'be happy'
'da.war	'daw.r-	'hit'†
'de.dem	'ded.m-	'be dark'
'de.gar	'deg.r-	'be dry'
'di.en	'din-	'be heavy'
'ɸaŋ.on	'ɸaŋ.n-	'build'; 'wake up'†
'ga.sar	'gas.r-	'tear'†
'go.bar	'gob.r-	'be white'
g. 'so.gor	g. 'sog.r-	'expel'†
'ga.lur	'gal.r-	'be green/blue'
i. 'gar	ig. 'r-	'fight'†
i. 'ŋal	iŋ. 'l-	'refuse'†
'dʒa.bun	'dʒab.n-	'be fast'
'dʒa.ŋel	'dʒaŋ.l-	'be rotten'
'dʒe.mal	'dʒem.l-	'be wet'
ka. 'na.war	ka. 'naw.r-	'be hungry'
'la.bar	'lab.r-	'widen'†
'la.lem	'lal.m-	'be sweet'
'maŋ.en	'maŋ.n-	'be sharp'
'mu.mur	'mum.r-	'be smooth'
'si.ɸan	'siɸ.n-	'sever'†
'su.al	'sul-	'grasp'†
'ta.war	'taw.r-	'call'†
'to.ɸal	'toɸ.l-	'wash' (e.g., clothing)†
'to.ŋar	'toŋ.r-	'be correct'
'u.tar	'ut.r-	'turn'†
'wa.kal	'wak.l-	'lie/trick'†
'wa.jer	'waj.r-	'dry' (in the sun)†

Pattern 2 verbs are vowel-final or semivowel final in their bare roots and lose the final V or VC in the suffixing root. Tables 2.42 and 2.43 provide the full paradigms of /'sokoj/ 'be small' and /'tale/ 'pull'† as examples of pattern 2 verbs.

Table 2.42: Example of a pattern 2 verb: /'so.koj/ 'be small'

1SG	'so.k-iŋ
2SG	'so.k-ig
3SG.ANI	'so.k-in
1PL.INCL	'so.koj.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'so.koj.-kom
2PL	'so.koj.-kem
3PL	'so.k-i

Table 2.43: Example of a pattern 2 verb: /'ta.le/ 'pull'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'ta.l-iŋ
2SG	a.-'ta.l-ig
3SG.ANI	a.-'ta.l-in
1PL.INCL	a.-'ta.le.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'ta.le.-kom
2PL	a.-'ta.le.-kem
3PL	a.-'ta.l-i

Table 2.44 lists all the pattern 2 verbs I have found in my data.

Table 2.44: Pattern 2 verbs

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'aj.se	'aj.s-	'be tall'
'de.le	'del-	'be white'
'ɸa.re	'ɸar-	'be black'
'ɸet.raj	'ɸet.r-	'break'
'gu.doj	'gud-	'be red'
'gaj.re	'gaj.r-	'be slow'
'dʒa.e.le	'dʒa.el-	'be full'
ka.'ne.le	ka.'nel-	'be sour'
ka.ra.'we	ka.ra.'w-	'be thirsty'
'la.be	'lab-	'be wide'
'la.we	'law-	'be fast'
'ma.ge	'mag-	'be bitter'
ma.'ni.we	ma.'ni.w-	'be thin'
mar.'le.we	mar.'le.w-	'be bright'
mar.'ma.re	mar.'mar-	'be dry'
'na.ne	'nan-	'be sick'
'ra.re	'rar-	'be hot'
'so.koj	'sok-	'be small'

'ta.le	'tal-	'pull'†
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In addition to the two major patterns, there are at least two minor patterns. Examples of each minor pattern are illustrated in tables 2.45 and 2.46 with full inflectional paradigms of /'ales/ 'be empty' and /'rajem/ 'squeeze'†, respectively.

Table 2.45: Minor pattern example: /'a.les/ 'be empty'

1SG	'al.k-uŋ
2SG	'al.k-ug
3SG.ANI	'al.k-un
1PL.INCL	'a.les.-sit
1PL.EXCL	'a.les.-kom
2PL	'a.les.-kem
3PL	'al.k-uj

Table 2.46: Minor pattern example: /'raj.em/ 'squeeze'† (with 3SG.ACT /a-/ prefix)

1SG	a.-'raj.b-iŋ
2SG	a.-'raj.b-ig
3SG.ANI	a.-'raj.b-in
1PL.INCL	a.-'raj.em.-sit
1PL.EXCL	a.-'raj.em.-kom
2PL	a.-'raj.em.-kem
3PL	a.-'raj.b-i

Table 2.47 lists all of the verbs found in my data which belong to these minor patterns.

Table 2.47: Verbs from additional minor patterns

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'a.les	'al.k-	'be empty'
'ɸu.nis	'ɸun.k-	'be thick'
'lo.ɸes	'loɸ.k-	'be many'
'sum	'sub-	'be wounded'
'raj.em	'raj.b-	'squeeze'†

2.7.4.1.2 Prefixing mutations

In addition to lexical verb root mutation involving bare and suffixing root pairs, there is a specific type of verb root mutation caused by resyllabification. It is triggered by certain prefixation. I have only a handful of such examples. In each case, the initial non-stressed syllable of the bare root is Ca. With (C)V prefixation, the /a/ of the initial Ca syllable of the bare root is

elided so that the bare root's initial C resyllabifies to form an initial non-stressed (C)VC syllable with the prefix. With (C)VC prefixation, vowel elision and resyllabification do not occur. Table 2.48 illustrates this phenomenon with / ϕ a.'li/ 'open'[†] by demonstrating the two possible root forms (bare root and prefixing mutation root) that are triggered depending on the prefixation.

Table 2.48: Example of mutation caused by resyllabification: / ϕ a.'li/ 'open'[†]

Bare Root	
ko-r.- ϕ a..'li.-un	1SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-1SG.PAT ³⁶
mo-r.- ϕ a..'li.-ug	2SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-2SG.PAT
a-r.- ϕ a..'li.-un	3SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-3SG.ANI.PAT
ta-r.- ϕ a..'li.-sit	1PL.INCL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-1PL.INCL.PAT
ma-r.- ϕ a..'li.-kom	1PL.EXCL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-1PL.EXCL.PAT
mi.na-r.- ϕ a..'li.-kem	2PL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-2PL.PAT
da-r.- ϕ a..'li.-uj	3PL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-3PL.PAT

Prefixing Mutation Root	
ku- ϕ .'li	1SG.ACT-open:RSYL
mu- ϕ .'li	2SG.ACT-open:RSYL
a- ϕ .'li	3SG.ACT-open:RSYL
ta- ϕ .'li	1PL.INCL.ACT-open:RSYL
ma- ϕ .'li	1PL.EXCL.ACT-open:RSYL
mi- ϕ .'li	2PL.ACT-open:RSYL
da- ϕ .'li	3PL.ACT-open:RSYL

Table 2.49 lists all known words from my data that exhibit this phenomenon. In table 2.49, ‡ signifies a noun. Note that the bare root form of /ba' ϕ ar/ is the noun 'swelling', while the resyllabified root (the prefixing mutation root) /b' ϕ ar/ is the verb 'swell'[†]. Presumably, if /ba' ϕ ar/ can occur with (C)VC prefixation (i.e., with a person-number marking prefix and the intransitivizing prefix /r-/), then /ba' ϕ ar/ can also be a verb form. Further investigation is required here.

Table 2.49: Prefixing mutation roots

Bare Root	Prefixing Mutation Root	English
ϕ a.'li	ϕ .'li	'open' [†]
ka.'lag	k.'lag	'hide' [†]
ta.'bor	t.'bor	'hug' [†]
ba.' ϕ ar ‡	b.' ϕ ar †	'swelling' [‡] / 'swell' [†]

³⁶ In the sense of 'to turn oneself over' or 'to turn around in order to face toward something'.

2.7.4.2 Numeral root mutations

Two numerals, /'laes/ 'three' and /'dum/ 'six', consist of a bare root and a suffixing root. The suffixing root of these numerals occurs with 3PL.ANI suffixation, while the bare root occurs with all other person-number suffixes that are permitted on numerals. For 'three', the bare root /'laes/ loses the final vowel of its root in its suffixing root to become /'las-/. For 'six', the bare root /'dum/ denasalizes its root final consonant to become /'dub-/. Tables 2.50 and 2.51 provide the full paradigms for these numerals. Note that 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.ANI and 3SG.INA readings of these numerals are impossible. Also, the 3PL.INA is not included here because it is unmarked. For more on numerals, refer to §4.5.1.

Table 2.50: Inflections of /'la.es/ 'three'

1PL.INCL.ANI	'la.es.-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	'la.es.-kom
2PL.ANI	'la.es.-kem
3PL.ANI	'la.s-i

Table 2.51: Inflections of /'dum/ 'six'

1PL.INCL.ANI	'dum.-sit
1PL.EXCL.ANI	'dum.-kom
2PL.ANI	'dum.-kem
3PL.ANI	'du.b-uj

Table 2.52 lists the bare roots and suffixing roots of these two numerals.

Table 2.52: Numerals with bare roots and suffixing roots

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'la.es	'la.s-	'three'
'dum	'du.b-	'six'

2.7.4.3 Noun root mutations

Several inalienably possessed nouns have a bare root and a suffixing root. Bare roots occur without suffixation and suffixing roots occur with suffixation. There are two patterns and a few irregular forms. This sub-section highlights the major patterns of noun root mutation. The discussion is highly tentative. For more on inalienably possessed nouns, refer to §4.9.1.

Pattern 1 nouns are consonant final and lose a non-final vowel in their suffixing roots. The pattern 1 noun /'nejen/ 'tooth' is unique in that it loses its non-final vowel and semivowel in its suffixing root. Tables 2.53, 2.54 and 2.55 provide the full paradigms for the pattern 1 nouns /'bedil/ 'back', /'kuel/ 'thigh' and /'nejen/ 'tooth' as examples of pattern 1 nouns. /'kuel/ 'thigh'

is unique in that it is the only noun with a CVVC bare root. All other nouns have CVCVC bare roots.³⁷

Table 2.53: Example of a pattern 1 noun: /'be.dil/ 'back'

1SG	'bed.l-un
2SG	'be.dil
3SG	'be.dil
PL	'bed.l-un

Table 2.54: Example of a pattern 1 noun: /'ku.el/ 'thigh'

1SG	'ku.l-un
2SG	'ku.el
3SG	'ku.el
PL	'ku.l-un

Table 2.55: Example of a pattern 1 noun: /'ne.jen/ 'tooth'

1SG	'ne.n-un
2SG	'ne.jen
3SG	'ne.jen
PL	'ne.n-un

Table 2.56 lists the bare roots and suffixing roots for all pattern 1 nouns from my data. In table 2.56, ‡ signifies that the noun is not used on its own but is instead the second noun in a fixed compound whose full meaning is indicated in the English column.

Table 2.56: Pattern 1 nouns

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'be.dil	'bed.l-	'back'
'ga.ŋur‡	'gaŋ.r-	'neck'
'ku.el	'kul	'thigh'
ka.'be.ler	ka.'bel.r-	'tongue'
'ne.jen	'ne.n-	'tooth'
'ta.ber‡	'tab.r-	'head'
'ta.ger	'tag.r-	'ear'
'ta.ŋel‡	'taŋ.l-	'eyebrow'

³⁷ Perhaps historically /'kuel/ 'thigh' contained a medial consonant or semivowel. Another analysis would be to consider the medial /e/ an ablaut or infix (§ 2.7.3.2) that is also used in the 2SG form.

Pattern 2 nouns are semivowel final in their bare roots and lose the final VC in the suffixing root. Tables 2.57 and 2.58 provide the full paradigms of /'a.bej/ 'leg/foot' and /ma.'le.ɸej/ 'forehead' as examples of pattern 2 nouns.

Table 2.57: Example of a pattern 2 noun: /'a.bej/ 'leg/foot'

1SG	'a.b-iŋ
2SG	'a.bej
3SG	'a.bej
PL	'a.b-in

Table 2.58: Example of a pattern 2 noun: /ma.'le.ɸej/ 'forehead'

1SG	ma.'le.ɸ-iŋ
2SG	ma.'le.ɸej
3SG	ma.'le.ɸej
PL	ma.'le.ɸ-in

Table 2.59 lists the bare roots and suffixing roots for all pattern 2 nouns in my corpus.

Table 2.59: Pattern 2 nouns

Bare Root	Suffixing Root	English
'a.bej	'ab-	'leg/foot'
'i.wej	'i.w-	'fingernail'
'ka.lej	'kal-	'skin/body'
ma.'le.ɸej	ma.'le.ɸ-	'forehead'

In addition to these two patterns, there are at least two irregular nouns which exhibit root mutation. These are /'mat-/ 'eye' and /'an-/ 'child'. The noun /'mat-/ 'eye' exhibits a root change in the 3SG: /'maes/ 'eye<3SG.POSS>'. The noun /'an-/ 'child' exhibits a similar root change in the 3SG: /'a.nes/ 'child<3SG.POSS>'. /'an-/ 'child' also exhibits a root change in the PL from /'an-/ to /'ank-/. The full paradigms of /'mat-/ 'eye' and /'an-/ 'child' are presented in tables 2.60 and 2.61, respectively.

Table 2.60: Example of irregular pattern: /'mat-/ 'eye'

1SG	'ma.t-aŋ
2SG	'ma.t-am
3SG	'ma.<e>s
PL	'ma.t-en

Table 2.61: Example of irregular pattern: /'an-/ 'child'³⁸

1SG	'a.n-aŋ
2SG	'a.n-aŋ
3SG	'a.n<e>s
PL	'an.k-u.in

2.8 Reduplication

This section deals with the formal properties of reduplication. See §8 for the functions of reduplication. I begin with an outline of CVC reduplication (§2.8.1) before discussing the phonotactic constraints of reduplication (§2.8.2).³⁹

2.8.1 CVC reduplication

Batuley exhibits CVC reduplication, with some phonotactic constraints (see §2.8.2). Only a stressed syllable can be reduplicated. The direction of reduplication is always from right to left. The examples in table 2.62 below illustrate this characteristic. In each example, the reduplicant of the stressed syllable base appears directly to the left of the base. If the stressed base is in initial word position, the reduplicant appears left of the base in initial word position, as in the examples of (i) and (ii) of table 2.62. If the stressed syllable base is not in initial word position, the reduplicant still occupies the position immediately to the left of the base. This results in reduplicative infixation within the root, as the examples presented in (iii) in table 2.62 illustrate. The three examples in (iii) are of disyllabic and trisyllabic roots.

Table 2.62: Outline of CVC reduplication

	Root	Reduplicated Form	Examples	
i	'CVC ₁	'CVC ₁ . 'CVC ₁	/'dʒob/ 'good'	/dʒob.'dʒob/ 'RDP~good'
			/'kat/ 'bad'	/kat.'kat/ 'RDP~bad' ⁴⁰
			/'dʒur/ 'scoop'	/dʒur.'dʒur/ 'RDP~scoop'
			/'kuj/ 'close'	/kuj.'kuj/ 'RDP~close'

³⁸ The /k/ → /s/ change in the root of /an-/ 'child' is similar to the /k/ → /s/ change in the roots of the minor pattern stative verbs /'ales/ 'be empty', /'ʔunis/ 'be thick' and /'loʔes/ 'be many', which are discussed in §2.7.4.1.1.

³⁹ There are at least two irregular forms of reduplication that I do not address in this thesis and which require further investigation. (i) In my data, there is one example of CV.VC reduplication in /ma.go.il.'go.il/ 'that we buy' from the CV.VC base /'go.il/ 'buy'. (ii) In my data, there is also one example of what appears to be VC.C reduplication in /aj.'saj.se/ 'height' from the VC.CV base /'aj.se/ 'tall'. A similar example of reduplication is present in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) with the base /'aj.re/ 'live'.

⁴⁰ From Djonler & Pszczolka (2011, Lk 6:9).

			/'kum/ 'stone'	/kum. 'kum/ 'RDP~stone'
ii	'CVC ₁ .(C)V(C)	CVC₁. 'CVC ₁ .(C)V(C)	/'ɸug.ar/ 'hill'	/ɸug. 'ɸug.ar/ 'RDP~hill'
			/'ɸol.oj/ 'body hair'	/ɸol. 'ɸol.oj/ 'RDP~body.hair' ⁴¹
			/'lag.or/ 'sweep'	/lag. 'lag.or/ 'RDP~sweep'
			/'sog.oj/ 'quiet'	/sog. 'sog.oj/ 'RDP~quiet'
iii	(C)V(C). 'CVC ₁ .(C)V(C)	(C)V(C). CVC₁. 'CVC ₁ .(C)V(C)	/ma. 'nam/ 'food'	/ma.nam. 'nam/ '<RDP>food' ⁴²
			/kej. 'kuj/ 'whole'	/kej.kuj. 'kuj/ '<RDP>whole'
			/ta. 'mat.a/ 'person'	/ta.mat. 'mat.a/ '<RDP>person'

2.8.2 Phonotactic constraints of reduplication

There are several phonotactic constraints of reduplication which concern VC and CV bases (§2.8.2.1), vowel dissimilation in the reduplicant (§2.8.2.2), geminate consonant clusters (§2.8.2.3) and copied inflections (§2.8.2.4).

2.8.2.1 VC and CV bases

Where the stressed vowel nucleus is not part of a CVC syllable, a segment less than CVC can be copied – that is, a VC or CV base can be copied. Where there is no onset on the stressed syllable, a VC base is copied. Similarly, where there is no coda on the stressed syllable, a CV base is copied. Tables 2.63 and 2.64 illustrate examples of VC and CV reduplication, respectively.

Table 2.63: VC reduplication examples

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
/da. 'el/ '3PL.ACT-do'	/da.el. 'el/ '3PL.ACT-RDP~do'
/'et/ 'one'	/et. 'et/ 'RDP~one'
/da. 'oj/ '3PL.ACT-die'	/da.oj. 'oj/ '3PL.ACT- RDP~die'

⁴¹ From Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁴² From Djonler & Pszczolka (2011, Lk 2:16).

Table 2.64: CV reduplication examples

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
/ar.ɸa.'li.un/ '3SG.ACT-INTR-open-3SG.PAT'	/ar.ɸa.li.'li.un/ '3SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>open-3SG.ANI.PAT'
/dar.'su.al/ '3PL.ACT-INTR-grasp'	/dar.su.'su.al/ '3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~grasp'
/ 'dʒa/ 'far'	/dʒa.'dʒa/ 'RDP~far'

2.8.2.2 Vowel dissimilation

Where the stressed syllable is comprised of the vowel nucleus /a/, the vowel nucleus of the reduplicant is lowered to [e]. This is due to vowel dissimilation conditioned by stress, the rule for which is discussed in §2.2.2.4 above. The reduplicant syllable does not carry primary stress. Consequently, the central vowel /a/ is dissimilated to [e], as seen in the examples presented in table 2.65. This often occurs in syllables ending in semivowel /j/, as the first two examples in table 2.65 illustrate.

Table 2.65: Vowel dissimilation conditioned by stress

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
[tu.'baj] 'new'	[tu.bej.'baj] '<RDP>new'
[ŋa.'maj] 'fragrance'	[ŋa.mej.'maj] '<RDP>fragrance'
[ur.'ɸa.ɛɸ] 'ten'	[ur.ɸe.'ɸa.ɛɸ] '<RDP>ten'
['la.ɛs] 'three'	[le.'la.ɛs] 'RDP~three'

2.8.2.3 Geminate consonant clusters

When the order reduplicant-base results in an underlying geminate consonant cluster, the coda of the reduplicant is elided, as seen in the examples in table 2.66. There are only two examples of this from my corpus, both of which are from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011).

Table 2.66: Geminate consonant clusters

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
['gag.ɛn] 'pretty-3SG.ANI.STV'	[ga.'gag.ɛn] 'RDP~pretty-3SG.ANI.STV' ⁴³
['tut] 'startle'	[tu.'tut] 'RDP~startle' ⁴⁴

⁴³ From Djonler & Pszczolka (2011, Lk 15:22).

⁴⁴ From Djonler & Pszczolka (2011, Lk 24:4).

2.8.2.4 Copied inflections

In all of the examples for reduplication presented so far, only the root is within the domain of reduplication. However, there are two contexts in which inflections are copied: (i) with irregular active verbs; (ii) with a small number of vowel-initial regular active verbs.

i) Irregular active verbs

The most robust context in which inflections are copied is with irregular active verbs (see §2.7.1.2 on fused prefixes and roots). With monosyllabic forms of these words, the whole syllable, which includes the fused person-number marking morphology, is copied. Table 2.67 below presents two examples of this phenomenon.

Table 2.67: Copied inflections: Irregular active verbs

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
/ʼam/ ‘3SG.ACT:be.at’	/am.ʼam/ ‘RDP~3SG.ACT:be.at’
/ʼdam/ ‘3PL.ACT:be.at’	/dam.ʼdam/ ‘RDP~3PL.ACT:be.at’

ii) Vowel-initial regular active verbs

The second context in which inflections are copied is limited to a small number of vowel-initial regular active verbs where stress falls on the first syllable of the inflected form. The person-number marking morphology forms part of the stressed syllable (see §2.7.1.1). The (C)V person-number marking morphology and a dissimulated vowel or semivowel from the verb stem may be copied, as in the examples below in table 2.68.

Table 2.68: Copied inflections: Regular active verbs with VC root

Examples	
Unreduplicated Form	Reduplicated Form
[ʼa.or] ~ [ʼa.wor] ‘3SG.ACT-pound’	[a ^w .ʼa.wor] ‘sago pounder’
[da.es] ‘3PL.ACT-throw’	[daj.ʼda.es] ‘RDP~3PL.ACT-throw’ ⁴⁵
[a.es] ‘3SG.ACT-throw’	[aj.ʼa.es] ‘RDP~3SG.ACT-throw’ ⁴⁶

2.9 Orthography

This section outlines a proposed orthography for Batuley (§2.9.1) and discusses its conventions (§2.9.2).

⁴⁵ From Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁴⁶ From Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

2.9.1 Proposed orthography

All chapters in this thesis use the proposed orthography outlined in this section to represent Batuley. To date, other resources on Batuley (see to §1.2) use a slightly different orthography when not using the IPA. All Batuley orthographies, including the one outlined here, are based on standard Indonesian as that is what Batuley speakers are most familiar with in reading and writing. I draw on several example sentences throughout this thesis from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). The only major difference between the orthography outlined in this section and that used in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) is that Pszczolka (n.d.-a) distinguishes between seven types of vowels in his orthography (five phonemes and 2 minor phonemes), whereas I only distinguish between five. Refer to Djonler et al. (2010b: i) for a short description of the orthography used in Pszczolka (n.d.-a). Refer to §2.10 for remarks on the implications of a seven vowel phoneme analysis. When necessary in this thesis, the orthography for examples from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) is adapted to the orthography that I propose in this section. If an adaption is made, I add a footnote to signal that a change has been made and provide a note indicating the original orthography.

Table 2.69 presents the orthographic marks used to represent each phoneme and its variants in the proposed orthography. This orthography requires testing for accuracy, usability and acceptability among Batuley speakers. It is therefore tentative.

Table 2.69: Proposed Batuley orthography

Phoneme	Variants	Orthography
/b/	[b], [bʰ]	<i>b</i>
/t/	[t], [tʰ]	<i>t</i>
/d/	[d], [dʰ]	<i>d</i>
/k/	[k], [kʰ]; [g]	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>
/g/	[g], [gʰ]; [gʷ]	<i>g</i> <i>gw</i>
/m/	[m]	<i>m</i>
/n/	[n]	<i>n</i>
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	<i>ng</i>
/r/	[r]	<i>r</i>
/ɸ/	[ɸ]; [p]	<i>f</i> <i>p</i>
/s/	[s]	<i>s</i>
/dʒ/	[dʒ]	<i>j</i>
/l/	[l]	<i>l</i>
/w/	[w]	<i>w</i> (in onset position) <i>u</i> (in coda position)
/j/	[j]	<i>y</i> (in onset position) <i>i</i> (in coda position)

Phoneme	Variants	Orthography
/i/	[i], [ɪ], [ə]	<i>i</i>
/u/	[u]	<i>u</i>
/e/	[e], [ɛ], [ɪ], [ə]	<i>e</i>
/o/	[o], [ɔ], [ʊ]	<i>o</i>
/a/	[a]; [e]	<i>a</i> <i>e</i>

2.9.2 Orthographic conventions

2.9.2.1 Semivowels

The proposed Batuley orthography is based on standard Indonesian orthography. This was the preference for those with whom I worked. Whenever the semivowels /w/ and /j/ occur in coda position in Batuley, they are represented orthographically as *u* and *i* respectively, as in (60a-d).⁴⁷ This is similar to standard Indonesian orthography where the diphthongs /au/, /ai/ and /oi/ are represented as *au*, *ai* and *oi* respectively. Perceptually, these diphthongs are parallel to Batuley's vowel-semivowel combinations /aw/, /aj/ and /oj/.

- (60) a. /'aw/ ['aw] *au* 'snake'
 b. /'kaj/ ['kaj] *kai* 'wood/tree'
 c. /mej 'la/ [mej. 'la] *mei la* 'type of parrotfish'
 d. /oj'tel/ [oj. 'tɛl] *oitel* 'corn'

Whenever the semivowels /w/ and /j/ occur in onset position, they are represented orthographically as *w* and *y* respectively, as in (61a-f). This is consistent with standard Indonesian orthography.

- (61) a. /'kawan/ ['ka.wan] *kawam* 'type of bird'
 b. /'iwej/ ['i.wej] *iwei* 'fingernail'
 c. /'ewon/ ['ɛ.wɔn] *ewon* 'fog'
 d. /'jai/ ['ja.i] *yai* 'grandmother'

⁴⁷ Note that this orthographic convention for Batuley contrasts with the conventions outlined for the other Aru languages of Dobel and Kola in Hughes (1989) and Takata & Takata (1989). The orthographies proposed for Dobel and Kola are more phonetic in that the semivowels /w/ and /j/ are always represented as *w* and *y*, and the vowels /u/ and /i/ are always represented as *u* and *i*.

e. /'ŋujol 're/ [ˌŋu.jol.'re] *nguyol re* 'type of fish'

f. /'nejen/ [ˌne.jɛn] *neyen* 'tooth'

These proposed conventions result in some ambiguity. For example both /'ϕui/ [ˈϕu.i] ~ [ˈϕu.wi] 'fruit' and the stative verb /'ϕuj/ [ˈϕuj] 'complete' are written as *fui* inside of *fui* and *fuy*, respectively. I suspect that such ambiguity would not be an issue for Batuley speakers because (i) such near-minimal pairs are rare and (ii) they are perceptually identical, except when /'ϕui/ 'fruit' is realized with a phonetic glide insertion as [ˈϕu.wi]. Future work will have to weigh the pros and cons for representing semivowels in these two different manners.

2.9.2.2 Stress

Stress is phonemic in Batuley (see §2.6 above). So far, there appear to be only two minimal pairs where a difference in stress placement alone distinguishes meaning. During my fieldwork, I found that some speakers preferred marking this difference orthographically and represented the difference by way of a double vowel for the stressed syllable nucleus of the word /ta'ϕur/ 'shelled mollusc'. Compare the following in (62a-b). As for the minimal pair presented in (63a-b), the few speakers I worked with did not propose that there be a difference in spelling. Therefore, I also do not distinguish the words orthographically in this thesis. Further investigation into representing stress and the effects of stress is greatly required.

(62) a. /'taϕur/ [ˈta.ϕur] *tafur* 'papeda' (i.e., 'sago congee')

b. /ta'ϕur/ [ta.'ϕur] *tafuur* 'shelled mollusc'

(63) a. /'kaliŋ/ [ˈka.liŋ] *kaling* 'skin/body-1SG.POSS'

b. /ka'liŋ/ [ka.'liŋ] *kaling* 'fishing line'

As was noted in §2.2.2.4, vowel dissimilation is conditioned by stress. Although vowel dissimilation occurs at the phonetic level, I represent it in the orthography for two reasons. Firstly, representing vowel dissimilation orthographically was preferred by the few speakers I worked with. Secondly, some high frequency compounds and noun phrases (NPs) display vowel dissimilation. To not represent the vowel dissimilation in the orthography may hinder reading comprehension. (64a-b) illustrate two examples of this. In each, /kaj/ 'wood/tree' forms part of a compound or attributive construction in which it undergoes vowel dissimilation conditioned by stress.

(64) a. /kaj'ran/ [kej.'ran] *keiran* 'tree branch' or 'sister'

b. /kaj da'da/ [kej.da.'da] *kei dada* 'firewood'

2.9.2.3 Morphophonemic alternations

All morphophonemic alternations discussed in §2.7 on morphophonology are represented morphophonemically and not phonemically in the proposed orthography. For instance, when the final vowel of a consonant final verb root is lost due to suffixation, the elided vowel will not be represented in the orthography. Compare (65a-b). In (65a), the final vowel of the verb root /'toɸal/ 'wash' is present, while in (65b) it is lost due to suffixation. In (65b), the loss of the final vowel is represented orthographically by its absence.

- (65) a. /'id da'toɸal 'id dʒer'taj/
 ['id da.'to.ɸal 'id dʒer.'taj]
 Id datofal id jertai.
 3PL 3PL.ACT-wash 3PL.POSS clothing
 'They are washing their clothing.'

- b. /ku'toɸlun/
 [ku.'toɸ.lun]
 kutoɸlun
 1SG.ACT-wash:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.PAT
 'I wash it' (i.e., a shirt)

2.10 Topics for future investigation

This section summarizes topics in Batuley phonology that require further investigation. It is possible to propose different vowel phoneme inventory analyses for Batuley. In §2.2, I outline the most economical analysis, opting for a simple five vowel phoneme inventory. However, with regard to /i/, /e/ and /o/ allophony, it must be acknowledged that it is unusual that certain words display clear lines of preference as to which allophone is used. For instance, as for the [i ~ ɪ] allophony of /i/, /'dʒil/ ['dʒɪl] 'krait snake' and /'ɸil/ ['ɸɪl] 'price' never occur with [i]. Conversely, /'mir/ ['mir] 'crab' and /'sit/ ['sit] '1PL.INCL' only ever occur with [i]. The absence of allophony in some cases has been credited to processes like sibilant spreading, which results in the emergent contrast between [i] and [ɪ]. This is described in §2.2.2.2 and illustrated with the set /'ɸis/ ['ɸis] 'night' versus /'ɸes/ ['ɸɪs] 'amok'. With regard to the [o ~ ɔ] allophony of /o/ (see §2.2.2.3), it was also noted that certain words prefer specific phonetic realizations, such as /'dʒot/ ['dʒot] 'type of fish' instead of *['dʒɔt] and /'kol/ ['kɔl] '1SG.ACT:get' instead of *['kol]. The interjection /'kon/ 'yes', with its realizations ['kon] ~ ['kɔn], points to an emergent contrast with /'kon/ ['kɔn] '1SG.ACT:drink'. Such an analysis supports treating [ɔ] as a phoneme in contrast with /o/, but this unusual case is accounted for by the special status of /'kon/ 'yes' as an interjection.

If we take [ɪ] and [ɔ] to be phonemes, albeit minor phonemes, then Batuley would be seen as having a seven vowel system: /i/, /u/, /ɪ/, /o/, /ɔ/ and /a/. The issue of minor phonemes was first highlighted by Pszczolka (n.d.-c) who proposes that the apparent presence of minor phonemes

shows that Batuley has been shifting from a seven vowel system to a five vowel system. The seven vowel phoneme analysis is similar to West Tarangan's seven vowel phoneme inventory (Nivens 1992: 152). Historical motivations may be behind the abovementioned preferences and apparent contrasts in Batuley. Indeed, some of the abovementioned aberrant examples, such as /'ɸil/ ['ɸil] 'price' and /'ɸes/ ['ɸis] 'amok', show parallels to West Tarangan cognates which also make use of a vowel similar to the near-close front unrounded vowel (Nivens, n.d.). The trouble with attributing phonemic status to [ɪ] and [ɔ] in Batuley is the overwhelming lack of three way distinctions between /i/ ≠ /ɪ/ ≠ /e/ and /u/ ≠ /o/ ≠ /ɔ/. Although the presence of minimal pairs is not a prerequisite for considering that a segment is a phoneme, the lack of such minimal pairing raises concern if we are to consider [ɪ] and [ɔ] phonemes. Moreover, the presence of /i/, /e/ and /o/ allophony between speakers and in the speech of the same speaker for several lexemes raises the greatest concern. Vowel formant measurements were taken to verify this observation quantitatively. The measurements revealed a wide range of vowel formant values for /i/, /e/ and /o/ allophony across speakers and within the speech of the same speaker.

For these reasons, I consider [ɪ] and [ɔ] to be allophones of /i/, /e/ and /o/. The five vowel phoneme analysis is the most economical and can be accounted for in the allophony rules outlined in §2.2.2. Further investigation, especially historical phonological work, may help shed light on the issue and perhaps provide diachronic explanations for Batuley's unusual phoneme inventory. The topic deserves careful attention.

Fortition (§2.3.2.2) of /ɸ/ to [p] is not fully dealt with and should be examined further. As was noted, fortition may be a feature illustrating accent differences between the Batuley villages. The syllable structure should be explored further as it is not always clear where syllable boundaries lie (§2.4). Readers will note that a full analysis of consonant clusters (§2.5.3) and vowel sequences (§2.5.4) has yet to be carried out. Stress (§2.6) in Batuley has not been dealt with extensively. It would be interesting to see if there are more minimal pairs distinguished on the basis of stress.

Batuley morphophonology (§2.7) presents several challenging sub-topics that require further investigation. All verbs and nouns from the entire Batuley corpus – that is, my own data collected during fieldwork as well as the data from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) – have not been analyzed systematically. I limit the above discussion to examples from my own data because I was able to elicit paradigms systematically during fieldwork and later reanalyze the recordings. Particular attention should be given to the irregular active verbs – that is, those verbs which display fused prefixes and roots (§2.7.1.2). I tentatively classify the verbs 'carry/bring' and 'eat' as irregular active verbs. These verbs and other irregular active verbs should be analyzed in more detail, especially with regard to the behaviour of verb stems when they interact with suffixation and to the issue of possible intransitive verb stem forms. As was noted, there may be more suffixation sets for stative S-marking and P pronominal marking (see §2.7.2.1.1 and §2.7.2.1.2). In §2.7.2.3, which addresses suffixation on nouns, I only deal with the major patterns from a limited set of data because there is a great deal of variation. The topic of verbal and nominal ablaut/inflection should also be explored further (§2.7.3). It was noted that the distinction between ablaut and inflection is especially unclear for some nouns (§2.7.3.2). Regarding root mutations (§2.7.4), I have only described root mutations for verbs and nouns

occurring in my own data collected during fieldwork. The work from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) contains dozens of other verbs and nouns that have not been dealt with. Furthermore, I have so far only identified a handful of verb roots that display prefixing root mutations (§2.7.4.1.2). There are likely more. Investigating the topics of suffixation and root mutations from a diachronic perspective may help shed light on the current situation of the language. Refer to §3.8 for remarks about this.

Finally, the orthography proposed in §2.9 requires testing. Attention should be given particularly to exploring the best way to represent semivowels (see §2.9.2.1) and stress patterns which result in minimal pairs (see §2.9.2.2).

3 Verbal morphology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes Batuley's verbal morphology. The chapter begins with some preliminary definitions (§3.2) before moving on to the properties of verbs (§3.3), which describes the basic properties of verbs (§3.3.1) and verb classes (§3.3.2). Next follows a section on verbal inflection (§3.4), which describes agreement suffixes and stative verbs (§3.4.1), agreement prefixes and active verbs (§3.4.2), P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (§3.4.3), lack of suffixation (§3.4.4), and the status of affixes (§3.4.5). The alignment system is described in §3.5 with sub-sections on intransitive alignment (§3.5.1), monotransitive alignment (§3.5.2) and ditransitive alignment (§3.5.3), followed by brief reference to the topic of ANIMACY (§3.5.4) and a summary sub-section (§3.5.5). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the intransitivizing prefix *r-* (§3.6), the non-finite prefix *jer-* (§3.7) and a historical look at suffixation (§3.8).

3.2 Terminological preliminaries

Batuley exhibits a split S alignment system (Dixon 1979). This phenomenon is also known as split intransitivity (Merlan 1985; van Valin 1990). With split S systems, the sole argument of an intransitive clause (the S argument) is coded in different ways. There are many types of split intransitives in eastern Indonesia (Donohue 2004; Klamer 2008).

In characterizing the alignment system of Batuley, I employ the terms S, A and P in the sense of Comrie (1978). These terms denote the following:

- S** – the sole argument of an intransitive verb;
- A** – the most agent-like argument of a transitive verb;
- P** – the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb.

In addition, I utilize Haspelmath's (2005) terms R and T for the arguments of a ditransitive clause, where they designate the following:

- R** – the most recipient-like argument;
- T** – the most theme-like argument.

The terms 'active' and 'stative' are employed in this discussion. Active and stative are grammatical labels for classes of verbs. In the first instance, they are defined along the lines of morphosyntactic criteria. In the second instance, these terms are partly underpinned by semantic criteria. Semantically speaking, active verbs usually describe dynamic activities and processes

where the subject of the verb is the agent or actor of the event. Stative verbs usually describe states, cognitive processes or processes relatively low in volitionality such as bodily functions (see §3.5 on semantic alignment). Morphosyntactically speaking, active and stative verbs have different properties. Cross-linguistically, these differences may be in constituent ordering and/or argument marking. Argument marking may be of two types: “flagging on the arguments (= coding by case affixes and adpositions), and indexing on or near the verb (= cross-referencing or agreement)” (Haspelmath 2005: 2).

3.3 Properties of verbs

3.3.1 Basic properties of verbs

Verbs are a separate word class, distinct from nouns. Verbs are classified as either active or stative. Active and stative verbs are obligatorily marked with person-number marking agreement suffixes for A and S. P suffixes are pronominal and therefore only appear on transitive active verbs if the P referent noun phrase (NP) is not present (see §3.4.5). When reduplicated, verbs modify the nouns they follow (see §8.x on verbal reduplication).

Many verbs, especially stative verbs, have two root forms: a bare root and an affixing root. See §2.7.1.1 on verb root mutations for a discussion of bare roots and affixing roots.

3.3.2 Verb classes

Each transitive active verb and stative verb belongs to an inflectional verb class. Verbs are organized into inflectional classes based on lexical criteria. Likewise, the verb class lexically determines which set of stative S suffixes (for stative verbs) and P suffixes (for transitive active verbs) the verb can take. Since inflections define the verb classes, verb classes will be discussed in conjunction with verbal inflection below. See §3.4.1, §3.4.2 and §3.4.3 for a description of agreement suffixes and stative verbs, agreement prefixes and active verbs, and P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs.

3.4 Verbal inflection

This section describes Batuley’s person-number marking affixation. The suffixes that occur on stative verbs (§3.4.1) and the prefixes that occur on active verbs (§3.4.2) are agreement markers, while the P suffixes are pronominal markers (§3.4.3). §3.4.5 describes this crucial distinction in detail and §3.8 provides a reflection on possible historical reasons for the current forms of the Batuley person-number marking affixes.

3.4.1 Agreement suffixes and stative verbs

As described in §2.7.2.1.1 on the morphophonology of suffixation on verbs, Batuley has three sets of agreement suffixes that occur on stative verbs. These sets are presented again in table 3.1. Since inflections define the verb class, there are a correspondingly equal number of stative verbs classes to agreement suffix sets. The three agreement suffix sets are not allomorphic. They occur lexically with a specific class of stative verbs. Class I stative verbs (table 3.3) take Set I suffixes,

while Class IIa stative verbs (table 3.5) take Set IIa suffixes, and so forth. The stative S-marking suffixes are agreement markers. They agree in person and number with the S of the stative verb. The 3SG.INA is unmarked and is therefore not included in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Agreement suffixes that occur on stative verbs

	Set I	Set IIa	Set IIb	Set III
1SG	<i>-ing</i>	<i>-ung</i>	<i>-ung</i>	<i>-ang</i>
2SG	<i>-ig</i>	<i>-ug</i>	<i>-ug</i>	<i>-eg</i>
3SG.ANI	<i>-in</i>	<i>-un</i>	<i><e></i>	<i>-en</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>-sit</i>	<i>-sit</i>	<i>-sit</i>	<i>-sit</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>-kom</i>	<i>-kom</i>	<i>-kom</i>	<i>-kom</i>
2PL	<i>-kem</i>	<i>-kem</i>	<i>-kem</i>	<i>-kem</i>
3PL	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ui</i>	<i>-ui</i>	<i>-ei</i>

Table 3.2 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class I stative verb, *gwaire* ‘be slow’. Class I stative verbs take Set I stative S suffixes. Note that the 3SG.INA is not marked for person-number agreement; only the bare root is used for the 3SG.INA.

Table 3.2: Example of a Class I stative verb with Set I agreement suffixes: *gwaire* ‘be slow’

1SG	<i>gwair-ing</i>	slow:SG/3PL-1SG.STV
2SG	<i>gwair-ig</i>	slow:SG/3PL-2SG.STV
3SG.ANI	<i>gwair-in</i>	slow:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
3SG.INA	<i>gwaire</i>	slow
1PL.INCL	<i>gwaire-sit</i>	slow-1PL.INCL.STV
1PL.EXCL	<i>gwaire-kom</i>	slow-1PL.EXCL.STV
2PL	<i>gwaire-kem</i>	slow-2PL.STV
3PL	<i>gwair-i</i>	slow:SG/3PL-3PL.STV

Table 3.3 contains the Class I stative verbs identified in my data. These verbs take Set I stative S suffixes.

Table 3.3: Class I stative verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>aire</i>	‘live’
<i>aise</i>	‘be tall’
<i>bulai</i>	‘be tired’
<i>dele</i>	‘be white’
<i>fare</i>	‘be black’
<i>gudo</i>	‘be red’
<i>gwaire</i>	‘be slow’

<i>jaele</i>	‘be full’
<i>jare</i>	‘be sick’
<i>kanele</i>	‘be sour’
<i>karawe</i>	‘be thirsty’
<i>labe</i>	‘be wide’
<i>lawe</i>	‘be fast’
<i>lure</i>	‘be clean’
<i>mage</i>	‘be bitter’
<i>maniwe</i>	‘be thin’
<i>marlewe</i>	‘be bright’
<i>marmare</i>	‘be dry’
<i>marngai</i>	‘be light’
<i>nane</i>	‘be sick’
<i>ngamai</i>	‘smell pleasant’
<i>rare</i>	‘be hot’
<i>soflai</i>	‘be tired’
<i>sokoi</i>	‘be small’
<i>tubai</i>	‘be new’

Set II is composed of two sub-sets, distinct only in the 3SG.ANI through the use of the <e> ablaut in Set IIb. Table 3.4 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class IIa stative verb, *jabun* ‘be fast’. Class IIa stative verbs take Set IIa stative S suffixes. The 3SG.INA is not marked for person-number agreement; only the bare root is used for the 3SG.INA.

Table 3.4: Example of a Class IIa stative verb with Set IIa agreement suffixes: *jabun* ‘be fast’

1SG	<i>jabn-ung</i>	fast:SG/3PL-1SG.STV
2SG	<i>jabn-ug</i>	fast:SG/3PL-2SG.STV
3SG.ANI	<i>jabn-un</i>	fast:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
3SG.INA	<i>jabun</i>	fast
1PL.INCL	<i>jabun-sit</i>	fast-1PL.INCL.STV
1PL.EXCL	<i>jabun-kom</i>	fast-1PL.EXCL.STV
2PL	<i>jabun-kem</i>	fast-2PL.STV
3PL	<i>jabn-ui</i>	fast:SG/3PL-3PL.STV

Table 3.5 contains the Class IIa stative verbs identified in my data. These verbs take Set IIa stative S suffixes.

Table 3.5: Class IIa stative verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>ales</i>	‘be empty’
<i>daian</i>	‘be happy’
<i>dedem</i>	‘be dark’
<i>degar</i>	‘be dry’
<i>dien</i>	‘be heavy’
<i>egtog</i>	‘burn’
<i>funis</i>	‘be thick’
<i>gobar</i>	‘be white’
<i>gwalur</i>	‘be green/blue’
<i>gwararig</i>	‘sleep deeply’
<i>ja</i>	‘be old’
<i>jabun</i>	‘be fast’
<i>jangel</i>	‘be rotten’
<i>jemal</i>	‘be wet’
<i>jeor</i>	‘be cold’
<i>lalem</i>	‘be sweet’
<i>lofes</i>	‘be many’
<i>mangen</i>	‘be sharp’
<i>mangur</i>	‘have a runny nose’
<i>nar</i>	‘be long’
<i>sum</i>	‘be wounded’
<i>taf</i>	‘be tall’
<i>tafer</i>	‘be old’ (male)
<i>tongar</i>	‘be correct’

There is only one Class IIb stative verb in my data: *kanawar* ‘be hungry’. Table 3.6 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of this Class IIa stative verb, which lexically takes Set IIb stative S suffixes. Due to the semantics of the verb, the 3SG.INA is not possible and is therefore excluded from the paradigm for *kanawar* ‘be hungry’.

Table 3.6: Class IIb verb: *kanawar* ‘be hungry’

1SG	kanawr-ung	hungry:SG/3PL-1SG.STV
2SG	kanawr-ug	hungry:SG/3PL-2SG.STV
3SG.ANI	kanaw<e>r	hungry<3SG.ANI.STV>
1PL.INCL	kanawar-sit	hungry-1PL.INCL.STV
1PL.EXCL	kanawar-kom	hungry-1PL.EXCL.STV
2PL	kanawar-kem	hungry-2PL.STV
3PL	kanawr-i	hungry:SG/3PL-3PL.STV

Table 3.7 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class III stative verb, *sal* ‘be wrong’. Class III stative verbs take Set III stative S suffixes. Once again, the 3SG.INA is not marked for person-number agreement.

Table 3.7: Example of a Class III stative verb with Set III agreement suffixes: *sal* ‘be wrong’

1SG	<i>sal-ang</i>	wrong:SG/3PL-1SG.STV
2SG	<i>sal-eg</i>	wrong:SG/3PL-2SG.STV
3SG.ANI	<i>sal-en</i>	wrong:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
3SG.INA	<i>sal</i>	wrong
1PL.INCL	<i>sal-sit</i>	wrong-1PL.INCL.STV
1PL.EXCL	<i>sal-kom</i>	wrong-1PL.EXCL.STV
2PL	<i>sal-kem</i>	wrong-2PL.STV
3PL	<i>sal-ei</i>	wrong:SG/3PL-3PL.STV

Table 3.8 contains the Class III stative verbs identified in my data. These verbs take Set III stative S suffixes.

Table 3.8: Class III stative verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>gwanjin</i>	‘be big’
<i>gwarsir</i>	‘be old’ (female)
<i>job</i>	‘be good’
<i>kat</i>	‘be bad’
<i>rat</i>	‘be flat’
<i>sal</i>	‘be wrong’
<i>sus</i>	‘be difficult’
<i>mon</i>	‘be ahead’

3.4.2 Agreement prefixes and active verbs

Active verbs are either intransitive or transitive. Many verbs in Batuley are ambitransitive. All active verbs, regardless of their transitivity, take agreement prefixation. As such, no distinction will be made between intransitive and transitive verbs in this discussion. Batuley has regular and irregular active verbs. What makes these two types of active verbs different is their treatment of agreement prefixation.

As described in §2.7.1.1, Batuley has two sets of agreement prefixes for active verbs. These sets are allomorphic and occur with regular active verbs. Set I occurs on all active verbs except before the intransitivizing prefix *r-*, where Set II occurs. Table 3.9 presents the agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs. Unlike agreement suffixation on stative verbs, the agreement prefixation on active verbs does not make a distinction between the 3SG.ANI and 3SG.INA.

Table 3.9: Agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs

	Set I	Set II
1SG	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ko-</i>
2SG	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mo-</i>
3SG	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>ta-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
2PL	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mina-</i>
3PL	<i>da-</i>	<i>da-</i>

Table 3.10 illustrates the Set I agreement prefixes with the fully inflected paradigm of the regular active verb *lar* ‘sail’.

Table 3.10: Regular active verb *lar* ‘sail’ with Set I agreement prefixes

1SG	<i>ku-lar</i>	1SG.ACT-sail
2SG	<i>mu-lar</i>	2SG.ACT-sail
3SG	<i>a-lar</i>	3SG.ACT-sail
1PL.INCL	<i>ta-lar</i>	1PL.INCL.ACT-sail
1PL.EXCL	<i>ma-lar</i>	1PL.EXCL.ACT-sail
2PL	<i>mi-lar</i>	2PL.ACT-sail
3PL	<i>da-lar</i>	3PL.ACT-sail

Table 3.11 illustrates the Set II agreement prefixes with the fully inflected paradigm of the regular active verb *jaman* ‘ask’ preceded by the intransitivizing prefix *r-*. The addition of the intransitivizing prefix *r-* renders the meaning ‘to ask oneself’ or ‘to wonder’. See §3.6 for a discussion of the intransitivizing prefix *r-*.

Table 3.11: Regular active verb *jaman* ‘ask’ with Set II agreement prefixes

1SG	<i>ko-r-jaman</i>	1SG.ACT-INTR-ask
2SG	<i>mo-r-jaman</i>	2SG.ACT-INTR-ask
3SG	<i>a-r-jaman</i>	3SG.ACT-INTR-ask
1PL.INCL	<i>ta-r-jaman</i>	1PL.INCL.ACT-INTR-ask
1PL.EXCL	<i>ma-r-jaman</i>	1PL.EXCL.ACT-INTR-ask
2PL	<i>mina-r-jaman</i>	2PL.ACT-INTR-ask
3PL	<i>da-r-jaman</i>	3PL.ACT-INTR-ask

In addition to regular active verbs, Batuley has a number of irregular active verbs where the agreement prefix (mostly Set II but sometimes also Set I) has merged with the verb root forming a one or two syllable word. These active verbs cannot carry the intransitivizer prefix *r-*. The majority of the verbs are of high frequency. Refer to §2.7.1.2 for a discussion of these verbs.

Batuley does not have a passive, but it does make use of a generic actor which is expressed through the 3PL prefix on active verbs. I have a few examples of this from my own data (1a-d), which were elicited from picture stimuli material. In (1a), the active verb *lipat* ‘fold’ is an Indonesian borrowing.

- (1) a. *Ngom i da-lipat am mej fufun.*
 cloth INDEF **3PL.ACT-fold** 3SG.ACT:be.at table top
 ‘A cloth is folded on top of the table.’
- b. *Balon da-sol fei kei jurin.*
 balloon **3PL.ACT-tie** with wood/tree nose
 ‘The balloon is tied to the end of a piece of wood.’
- c. *Surat da-sur jel uref.*
 letter **3PL.ACT-pierce** toward nail
 ‘The book page has been pierced through with a nail.’
- d. *Kei fui~fui on da-sur da-ig uref.*
 wood RDP~fruit PROX.SG.INA **3PL.ACT-pierce** **3PL.ACT-use** nail
 ‘The small fruit has been skewered.’

Pszczolka (n.d.-a) has several examples of the generic 3PL, which help further illustrate its use (2a-c). Note that in (2c), the generic 3PL is used in a relative clause construction (see §4.8.2 for relative clauses).

- (2) a. *Mug eno da-fet jel fin ru ti.*
 banana MED.SG.INA **3PL.ACT-split** toward side/part two PFV
 ‘That banana was split into two parts.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. *Ken foloi⁴⁸ da-fai.*
 3SG.POSS hair 3PL.ACT-exit
 ‘Its fur was removed.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- c. *Tamata i-en a-r-na-ung a-ig cara*
 person INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-teach-1SG.PAT 3SG.ACT-use way
da-el~el lef.
 3PL.ACT-RDP~do house
 ‘Someone taught me how to build a house.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁴⁸ Originally *fóloi* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

3.4.3 P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs

P marking, while it is lexically specific, does not define whether a verb is active or stative. However, to be able to take P pronominal suffixes, a verb must be a transitive active verb. In this sense, P marking is a secondary order of division, after agreement affixation.

As described in §2.7.2.1.2 on the morphophonology of P pronominal suffixes, Batuley has four sets of P suffixes. Note that Set II is composed of two sub-sets, distinct only in 3SG.ANI through the use of the <e> ablaut in Set IIb. The sets are not allomorphic. They occur lexically with a specific class of transitive active verbs. Class I active verbs (see table 3.14 below) take Set I suffixes, while Class IIa transitive active verbs (table 3.16 below) take Set IIa suffixes, and so forth. The P-marking suffixes are pronominal markers, meaning they cannot co-occur with an NP (see §3.3.4 below). They mark the person and number of the P. The 3SG.INA is not marked with P suffixation, and is therefore excluded from the tables in this section.

Table 3.12: P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs

	Set I	Set IIa	Set IIb	Set III	Set IV
1SG	-ing	-ung	-ung	-ang	-ong
2SG	-ig	-ug	-ug	-eg	-og
3SG.ANI	-in	-un	<e>	-en	-on
1PL.INCL	-sit	-sit	-sit	-sit	-oisit
1PL.EXCL	-kom	-kom	-kom	-kom	-oikom
2PL	-kem	-kem	-kem	-kem	-oikem
3PL	-i	-ui	-ui	-ei	-oii

Table 3.13 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class I transitive active verb, *rir* ‘push’, with the 3SG.ACT agreement prefix. Class I transitive active verbs take Set I P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.13: Example of a Class I transitive active verb with P pronominal suffixation: *rir* ‘push’

1SG	<i>a-rir-ing</i>	3SG.ACT-push-1SG.PAT
2SG	<i>a-rir-ig</i>	3SG.ACT-push-2SG.PAT
3SG.ANI	<i>a-rir-in</i>	3SG.ACT-push-3SG.ANI.PAT
1PL.INCL	<i>a-rir-sit</i>	3SG.ACT-push-1PL.INCL.PAT
1PL.EXCL	<i>a-rir-kom</i>	3SG.ACT-push-1PL.EXCL.PAT
2PL	<i>a-rir-kem</i>	3SG.ACT-push-2PL.PAT
3PL	<i>a-rir-i</i>	3SG.ACT-push-3PL.PAT

Table 3.14 contains the Class I transitive active verbs, which can take P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.14: Class I transitive active verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>aes</i>	‘stab’
<i>aes</i>	‘throw’
<i>gael</i>	‘dig’
<i>goil</i>	‘buy’
<i>kui</i>	‘close’
<i>raiem</i>	‘squeeze’
<i>rir</i>	‘push’; ‘win’
<i>tale</i>	‘pull’
<i>tbe</i>	‘cast out’
<i>mael</i>	‘laugh’
<i>je</i>	‘sew’

Table 3.15 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class IIa transitive active verb, *utar* ‘turn’, with the 3SG.ACT agreement prefix. Class IIa transitive active verbs take Set IIa P suffixes.

Table 3.15: Example of a Class IIa transitive active verb with P pronominal suffixation: *utar* ‘turn’

1SG	<i>a-utr-ung</i>	3SG.ACT-turn:SG/3PL-1SG.PAT
2SG	<i>a-utr-ug</i>	3SG.ACT-turn:SG/3PL-2SG.PAT
3SG.ANI	<i>a-utr-un</i>	3SG.ACT-turn:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.PAT
1PL.INCL	<i>a-utar-sit</i>	3SG.ACT-turn-1PL.INCL.PAT
1PL.EXCL	<i>a-utar-kom</i>	3SG.ACT-turn-1PL.EXCL.PAT
2PL	<i>a-utar-kem</i>	3SG.ACT-turn-2PL.PAT
3PL	<i>a-utr-ui</i>	3SG.ACT-turn:SG/3PL-3PL.PAT

Table 3.16 contains the Class IIa transitive active verbs, which can take P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.16: Class IIa transitive active verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>a</i>	‘burn’
<i>afol</i>	‘ascend’
<i>aor</i>	‘cut’
<i>at</i>	‘fold’
<i>bol</i>	‘rub’
<i>fali</i>	‘open’
<i>fangaltug</i>	‘hug’
<i>fangon</i>	‘build’; ‘wake up’
<i>far</i>	‘search’

<i>fun</i>	‘kill’
<i>gasar</i>	‘tear’
<i>gsogor</i>	‘expel’
<i>igar</i>	‘fight’
<i>imgwang</i>	‘share’
<i>ingal</i>	‘refuse’
<i>jaman</i>	‘ask’, ⁴⁹
<i>juron</i>	‘smell’
<i>ka</i>	‘hunt/chase’
<i>labar</i>	‘widen’
<i>na</i>	‘teach’
<i>nam</i>	‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’
<i>rengar</i>	‘hear’
<i>sifan</i>	‘sever’
<i>sol</i>	‘tie’
<i>sur</i>	‘pierce’
<i>tofal</i>	‘wash’ (e.g., clothes)
<i>tomal</i>	‘chew’
<i>ton</i>	‘illuminate’
<i>tug</i>	‘grab’
<i>tut</i>	‘pound’
<i>ur</i>	‘follow’
<i>utar</i>	‘turn’
<i>wakal</i>	‘lie/trick’
<i>wang</i>	‘sell’

Table 3.17 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class IIb transitive active verb, *sual* ‘grasp’, with the 3SG.ACT agreement prefix. Class IIb transitive active verbs take Set IIb P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.17: Example of the Class IIb verb with P pronominal suffixation: *sual* ‘grasp’

1SG	<i>a-sul-ung</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp:SG/3PL-1SG.PAT
2SG	<i>a-sul-ug</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp:SG/3PL-2SG.PAT
3SG.ANI	<i>a-su<e>l</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp<3SG.ANI.PAT>
1PL.INCL	<i>a-sual-sit</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp-1PL.INCL.PAT
1PL.EXCL	<i>a-sual-kom</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp-1PL.EXCL.PAT
2PL	<i>a-sual-kem</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp-2PL.PAT
3PL	<i>a-sul-ui</i>	3SG.ACT-grasp:SG/3PL-3PL.PAT

⁴⁹ *jaman* can occur with Class IIa or IIb suffixes.

Table 3.18 contains the Class IIb transitive active verbs, which can take P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.18: Class IIb transitive active verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>dawar</i>	‘hit’
<i>dengal</i>	‘strike’
<i>jaman</i>	‘ask’
<i>sual</i>	‘grasp’
<i>tawar</i>	‘call’

Table 3.19 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of a Class III transitive active verb, *kalag* ‘hide’, with the 3SG.ACT agreement prefix. In this environment, the prefixing mutation root *glag* ‘hide:RSYL’ is used; see §2.7.4.1.2 on prefixing mutation roots. Class III transitive active verbs take Set III P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.19: Example of a Class III verb with P pronominal suffixation: *kalag* ‘hide’

1SG	<i>a-glag-ang</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-1SG.PAT
2SG	<i>a-glag-eg</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-2SG.PAT
3SG.ANI	<i>a-glag-en</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-3SG.ANI.PAT
1PL.INCL	<i>a-glag-sit</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-1PL.INCL.PAT
1PL.EXCL	<i>a-glag-kom</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-1PL.EXCL.PAT
2PL	<i>a-glag-kem</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-2PL.PAT
3PL	<i>a-glag-ei</i>	3SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-3PL.PAT

Table 3.20 contains the Class III transitive active verbs, which can take P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.20: Class III transitive active verbs

Bare Verb Root	English
<i>an</i>	‘shoot’
<i>du</i>	‘bark’
<i>feisir</i>	‘inform’
<i>fet</i>	‘split’
<i>kar</i>	‘bite’
<i>gjag</i>	‘clean’
<i>el</i>	‘do’
<i>it</i>	‘see’
<i>jag</i>	‘guard’
<i>kalag</i>	‘hide’
<i>kat</i>	‘wait’

<i>kof</i>	‘close’
<i>nal</i>	‘3SG.ACT:get’
<i>rag</i>	‘know/understand’
<i>ref</i>	‘fell’ (i.e., a tree)
<i>sib</i>	‘plait’
<i>tab</i>	‘carry on one’s shoulders’

There is only one Class IV transitive active verb in my data. It is the irregular active verb *af* ‘3SG.ACT:carry’. This unique verb takes Set III P pronominal suffixes. Table 3.21 illustrates the fully inflected paradigm of this set of P pronominal suffixes.

Table 3.21: Class IV transitive active verb with P pronominal suffixation: *af* ‘3SG.ACT:carry’

1SG	<i>af-ong</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-1SG.PAT
2SG	<i>af-og</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-2SG.PAT
3SG.ANI	<i>af-on</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-3SG.ANI.PAT
1PL.INCL	<i>af-oisit</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-1PL.INCL.PAT
1PL.EXCL	<i>af-oikom</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-1PL.EXCL.PAT
2PL	<i>af-oikem</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-2PL.PAT
3PL	<i>af-oii</i>	3SG.ACT:carry-3PL.PAT

3.4.4 Lack of suffixation

As seen in the above discussions, the stative S agreement suffixes and P pronominal suffixes make a distinction in the third person singular with regard to the morphosyntactic treatment of ANIMATE and INANIMATE undergoers, but do not make such a distinction in the plural. This characteristic is seen clearly in the following examples.

Compare the stative verb examples given in (3-4). In (3a) the S argument referent is the ANIMATE noun *siram* ‘axe’ with singular reference. Its ANIMATE gender is marked by means of the demonstrative *nen* ‘MED.SG.ANI’ and the stative S verbal agreement suffix *-un* ‘3SG.ANI.STV’. In contrast, the singular INANIMATE noun *bed* ‘machete’ is the S argument referent in (3b). Its ANIMACY gender is marked with the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’ but not with any stative S suffixation on the verb.

(3) Singular:

ANIMATE:

- a. *Siram nen mangn-un.*
 axe MED.SG.ANI sharp:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘That axe is sharp.’

INANIMATE:

- b. *Bed en mangel.*
machete MED.SG.INA sharp
'That machete is sharp.'

(4a-b) illustrate that there is no distinction in the third person plural between ANIMATE and INANIMATE S argument with regard to stative S agreement suffixation on verbs. Both ANIMATE and INANIMATE plural referents index on the verb by means of suffixation. Likewise, there is no distinction in the demonstrative marking either (see §4.4).

(4) Plural:

- a. *Siram dini mangn-ui.*
axe PROX.PL sharp:SG/3PL-3PL.STV
'These axes are sharp.'
- b. *Bed dini mangn-ui.*
machete PROX.PL sharp:SG/3PL-3PL.STV
'These machetes are sharp.'

Compare the transitive active verb examples given in (5-6). In (5a) the P argument referent is the singular ANIMATE noun *jig* 'fish', which is understood from the context. Its ANIMATE gender is marked by the presence of the P pronominal suffix *-in* '3SG.ANI.PAT'. In contrast, the singular INANIMATE noun *ngom* 'cloth', which is understood from the context, is not marked by P suffixation on the verb in (5b).

(5) Singular:

ANIMATE:

- a. *Ku-goil-in.*
1SG.ACT-buy-3SG.ANI.PAT
'I buy it.' (referring to *jig* 'fish' (3SG.ANI))

INANIMATE:

- b. *Ku-goil.*
1SG.ACT-buy
'I buy it.' (referring to *ngom* 'cloth' (3SG.INA))

(6a-b) illustrate that there is no distinction between the third person plural ANIMATE and INANIMATE P argument with regard to P suffixation on verbs. Both ANIMATE and INANIMATE plural referents index on the verb by means of suffixation – in this case, the P pronominal suffix *-i* '3PL.PAT'.

(6) Plural:

a. *Ku-goil-i.*

1SG.ACT-buy-3PL.PAT

‘I buy them.’ (referring to *jig* ‘fish’ (3SG.ANI))

b. *Ku-goil-i.*

1SG.ACT-buy-3PL.PAT

‘I buy them.’ (referring to *ngom* ‘cloth’ (3SG.INA))

3.4.5 Status of suffixes

The first three sets of the P pronominal suffixes (§3.4.3), are identical to all three sets of the stative S agreement suffixes (§3.4.1). Indeed, these suffixes could be regarded as a single suffixal paradigm since they both encode the undergoer of stative verbs and transitive active verbs, respectively. Nevertheless, my position is that the stative S paradigm is separate from the P pronominal paradigm. This is based on one crucial piece of evidence: the differential status between pronominal and agreement markers.

The suffixes on stative verbs and the prefixes on active verbs are agreement markers because they are always marked on the verb regardless of whether or not the co-referential S/A argument NP or pronoun is overtly present in the clauses. (7a) illustrates that the prefix on active verbs, in this case the prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’, is present when the co-referential A argument is not. Example (7b) shows that the agreement prefix can co-occur with the co-referential A argument pronoun, in this case *ang* ‘1SG’.

Intransitive active verb

(7) a. *Ku-ban* *Benjuring.*

1SG.ACT-go Benjuring

‘I am going to Benjuring.’

b. *Ang ku-ban* *Benjuring.*

1SG 1SG.ACT-go Benjuring

‘I am going to Benjuring.’

This is the same for suffixes on stative verbs. In example (8a), the suffix *-in* ‘3SG.ANI.STV’ is present when the co-referential NP or pronoun is absent from the clause. Much like agreement prefixes on active verbs, the suffix of a stative verb remains on the verb even when the co-referential NP or pronoun is explicitly present, as seen in example (8b) where the NP is *gwau neno* ‘the child’.

Intransitive stative verb

- (8) a. *Sok-in.*
 small:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘S/he is small.’
- b. *Gwau neno sok-in.*
 child MED.SG.ANI small:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘The child is small.’

The agreement marking behaviour of prefixes on active verbs and suffixes on stative verbs contrasts with that of the P suffixes. The P suffixes are pronominal. This means that when the P argument is expressed as an overt NP, there is no marking on the verb, but when the P argument is not an NP, it is expressed as a pronominal suffix on the verb. (9a) illustrates that when the P argument is an overt NP, in this case *buku* ‘book’, a P pronominal suffix is not permitted on the verb. However, when the P argument is not an overt NP, it must be expressed pronominally as a P argument verbal suffix, as seen in (9b).

- | | | | |
|--|---|---------------------|---|
| | A | AGR _A -V | P |
|--|---|---------------------|---|
- (9) a. *Ang ku-glag buku.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-hide:RSYL book
 ‘I hid the book.’
- | | | |
|--|---|-----------------------|
| | A | AGR _A -V-P |
|--|---|-----------------------|
- b. *Ang ku-glag-en.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘I hid it.’ (i.e., *buku* ‘book’)

The P argument can be indicated by means of the pronominal P argument verbal suffix referent or by way of a P argument pronoun referent. Table 3.22 illustrates this characteristic. Note that the basic meaning is the same in both cases. Pragmatically, the use of the P argument pronoun referent instead of the P argument suffix referent is more marked and is only used for emphasis.

Table 3.22: P argument referent suffixation or use of pronoun

P Argument Suffix	P Argument Pronoun	Meaning
<i>a-rengr-ung</i> 3SG.ACT-hear:SG/3PL-1SG.PAT	<i>a-rengar ang</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 1SG	‘s/he hears me’
<i>a-rengr-ug</i> 3SG.ACT-hear:SG/3PL-2SG.PAT	<i>a-rengar kaig</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 2SG	‘s/he hears you’
<i>a-rengr-un</i> 3SG.ACT-hear:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.PAT	<i>a-rengar nai</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 3SG	‘s/he hears him/her’
<i>a-rengar-sit</i> 3SG.ACT-hear-1PL.INCL.PAT	<i>a-rengar sit</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 1PL.INCL	‘s/he hears us’
<i>a-rengar-kom</i> 3SG.ACT-hear-1PL.EXCL.PAT	<i>a-rengar kam</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 1PL.EXCL	‘s/he hears us’
<i>a-rengar-kem</i> 3SG.ACT-hear-2PL.PAT	<i>a-rengar kaem</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 2PL	‘s/he hears you’
<i>a-rengr-ui</i> 3SG.ACT-hear-3PL.PAT	<i>a-rengar id</i> 3SG.ACT-hear 3PL	‘s/he hears them’

This sub-section has demonstrated that the P suffixes are not verbal agreement suffixes but instead pronominal suffixes. This distinguishes P suffixes from stative S suffixes even though these suffixes could be regarded as a single suffixal paradigm since they carry out similar referential functions as markers of the undergoer. Prefixes on active verbs and suffixes on stative verbs are agreement markers, whereas P paradigm consists of pronominal markers. Agreement suffixes and pronominal suffixes are both referential but they have different morphosyntactic consequences, as seen above.

3.5 Alignment

This section describes the alignment system of Batuley, covering intransitive (§3.5.1), monotransitive (§3.5.2) and ditransitive (§3.5.3) alignment. Brief reference is made to the topic of ANIMACY in the alignment system (§3.5.4). The section concludes with a summary sub-section (§3.5.5).

3.5.1 Intransitive

Intransitive verbs in Batuley can be either stative or active. Stative verbs are always intransitive, but active verbs can be either intransitive or transitive. The S argument pronoun or NP precedes the verb for both stative and active verbs.

3.5.1.1 Stative verbs

With stative verbs, the S argument is coded with a stative S agreement suffix through indexing on the verb. (10a-c) exemplify this. The S argument in (10a) is the NP *gwau neno* ‘the child’ and,

in (10b), it is the pronoun *kam* ‘1PL.EXCL’. In each case, the S argument referent precedes the verb and is co-referentially indexed on the stative verb with S suffixation. (10c) illustrates that the S argument referent does not necessarily have to be present, but must at least be marked on the stative verb with S suffixation.

- (10) a.

S		V-AGR _S
<i>Gwau</i>	<i>nenō</i>	<i>karaw-in.</i>
child	MED.SG.ANI	thirsty:SG/3PL-3SG.STV
‘The child is thirsty.’		

- b.

S	V-AGR _S
<i>Kam</i>	<i>karawe-kom.</i>
1PL.EXCL	thirsty-1PL.EXCL.STV
‘We are thirsty.’	

- c.

V-AGR _S
<i>Karaw-ing.</i>
thirsty:SG/3PL-1SG.STV
‘I am thirsty.’

3.5.1.2 Active verbs

With active intransitive verbs, the S argument is coded in the same way as the A argument. It is indexed on the verb with an agreement prefix. (11a-c) illustrate active verb marking for intransitive verbs. The S argument in (11a) is the noun *guon* ‘rain’ and is indexed on the verb with the coreferential agreement prefix *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’. Similarly, in (11b) the S argument is the pronoun *ang* ‘1SG’ and is indexed on the verb with the coreferential agreement prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’. (11c) illustrates that the S argument referent does not necessarily have to be present in the utterance but must at least be marked on the active verb with prefixation.

- (11) a.

S	AGR _S -V
<i>Guon</i>	<i>a-fan.</i>
rain	3SG.ACT-fall
‘It is raining.’	

- b.

S	AGR _S -V			
<i>Ang</i>	<i>ku-fan</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>tutui.</i>
1SG	1SG.ACT-fall	from	tree	top
‘I fell from the top of the tree.’				

- AGR_S-V
 c. *Da-fan*.
 3PL.ACT-fall
 ‘They fell.’

3.5.1.3 Division between stative verbs and intransitive active verbs

As described in the preliminary discussion above in §3.2, stative verbs usually describe states, cognitive processes or processes relatively low in activity and volitionality. Active verbs, on the other hand, characterize dynamic activities and processes. These semantic distinctions generally hold true for the morphosyntactic behaviour of Batuley’s stative and active verbs. Tables 3.23 and 3.24 list typical stative and intransitive active verbs. These tables are by no means exhaustive. In the tables in this sub-section, † indicates that the verb (usually) takes the intransitivizing prefix *r-* (see §3.6 for more on this prefix).

Table 3.23: Common stative verbs

Verb	English
<i>aire</i>	‘live’
<i>ales</i>	‘be empty’
<i>dele</i>	‘be white’
<i>fare</i>	‘be black’
<i>gudo</i>	‘be red’
<i>jabun</i>	‘be fast’
<i>jaele</i>	‘be full’
<i>jangel</i>	‘be rotten’
<i>jare</i>	‘be sick’
<i>jeor</i>	‘be cold’
<i>job</i>	‘be good’
<i>kanawar</i>	‘be hungry’
<i>karawe</i>	‘be thirsty’
<i>kat</i>	‘be bad’
<i>mangen</i>	‘be sharp’
<i>mumur</i>	‘be smooth’
<i>rare</i>	‘be hot’
<i>sokoi</i>	‘be small’
<i>sum</i>	‘be wounded’
<i>tongar</i>	‘be correct’

Table 3.24: Common intransitive active verbs

Verb	English
<i>ban</i>	‘go’
<i>bar</i>	‘leap’†
<i>etor</i>	‘jump’
<i>fir</i>	‘dream’
<i>gog</i>	‘moored’
<i>ig</i>	‘cluck’; ‘crow’
<i>jamor</i>	‘walk’
<i>mai</i>	‘come’
<i>mar</i>	‘snore’†
<i>muil</i>	‘go back’
<i>naen</i>	‘swim’
<i>nana</i>	‘crawl’
<i>ner</i>	‘spit’
<i>ni</i>	‘fly’
<i>taen</i>	‘cry’
<i>tar</i>	‘flow’†
<i>tdoan</i>	‘emerge’
<i>tdug</i>	‘bend over’
<i>tabrer</i>	‘stand’†
<i>wangar</i>	‘wake up’

I have not come across any verbs in Batuley that exhibit both stative and active intransitive verb behaviour – that is, which can be used as stative and active intransitive verbs. This

phenomenon is referred to as ‘fluid S-marking’ behaviour (Dixon 1979: 80), and is absent from Batuley.

Agentivity, volitionality and inchoative aspect (focus on the beginning change of state rather than the resulting state) are three key semantic features of active verbs in Batuley. For the majority of active verbs, these key features are present. As long as at least one of these three criteria is met, then the verb is usually treated with active verb alignment. However, the division between active and stative is not so clear-cut. There are a number of verbs with apparent stative semantics but which are morphosyntactically treated as intransitive active verbs. These verbs take agreement prefixes for active verb marking even though they do not exhibit all the common features of active verbs – agentivity, volitionality and inchoative aspect. Table 3.25 shows which verbs have been identified as being a part of this borderline category. For the majority of these verbs, an inchoative aspectual reading is likely the reason they are treated as active verbs as we shall see in the discussion for *oi* ‘die’ and *ar* ‘be born’ below with examples (12-13).

Table 3.25: Verbs with stative semantics and active alignment

Verb	English
<i>ar</i>	‘be born’
<i>bfar</i>	‘swell’
<i>bafaer</i>	‘sneeze’ [†]
<i>bat</i>	‘break/be broken off’
<i>bebar</i>	‘be afraid’
<i>belmage</i>	‘be angry’ ⁵⁰
<i>dibel</i>	‘be bruised’
<i>dur</i>	‘have diarrhea’
<i>fan</i>	‘fall’
<i>gurog</i>	‘be feverish’
<i>jabon</i>	‘sweat’ [†]
<i>long</i>	‘vomit’
<i>maen</i>	‘float’ [†]
<i>mrir</i>	‘fall over’
<i>obar</i>	‘ripen’ / ‘be ripe’
<i>oi</i>	‘die’
<i>rag</i>	‘know/understand’ ⁵¹
<i>tatan</i>	‘be surprised’

As was mentioned above, as long as at least one of the three criteria for active verb semantics is met, then the verb is usually treated with active verb alignment. There are a few verbs in table 3.25 where the feature of inchoative aspect appears to be the only reason the verb follows active

⁵⁰ Etymologically, *belmage* appears to derive from the combination of *abel* ‘inside’ and *mage* ‘bitter’.

⁵¹ The verb *rag* is unique in that the prefix *r-* is fossilized to the verb root. See §3.6.6 for a discussion about this verb.

alignment. Take for instance the verb *oi* ‘die’, in (12). Although agentivity and volitionality are not apparent in the lexical semantics of the verb, the verbal aspect is such that the focus is on the change of state (‘die’) rather than the resulting state (‘be dead’). Foley (2005: 410) notes that the verb ‘die’ has an inchoative focus in other languages of Maluku such as Batuley’s neighbouring language Dobel. For this reason, the verb ‘die’ is indexed with agreement marking morphology common to active verbs in these languages.

- (12) *Il i-en a-oi am fanu enon.*
 man INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-die 3SG.ACT:be.at village MED.SG.INA
 ‘A man had died in that village.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 7:11)

In the same vein, the verb *ar* ‘be born’ is treated as an active verb because of its inchoative aspect reading in Batuley. In (13), the subject *kaig* ‘2SG’ is coded with an agreement prefix on the verb *ar* ‘be born’ even though the subject is clearly non-agentive and the action is non-volitional. However, as with the verb *oi* ‘die’, at least one feature of active semantics is present in that the aspectual focus is on the beginning point of the state rather than the result of the state. Consequently, the verb receives intransitive active verb morphosyntactic treatment.

- (13) *Kaig mu-ar mer ula?*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-born day what
 ‘What day were you born on?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

Despite these explanations, not every verb in table 3.25 can be accounted for with a cut-and-dried inchoative aspect reading. There are several other verbs, such as *dibel* ‘be bruised’ and *gurog* ‘be feverish’, which do not appear to exhibit active verb semantics. These verbs are strikingly similar to a few stative verbs seen in table 3.25 above, such as *jare* ‘be sick’ and *sum* ‘be wounded’. It may not be possible to account for the active alignment of these verbs synchronically. Perhaps these verbs were lexicalized as taking active verb morphology at some earlier stage in the language when the alignment system was determined by other semantic notions. This topic is a rich area for future investigation.

3.5.2 Monotransitive

Monotransitive verbs are always active verbs. They contain two arguments – the A and P. The A argument appears preverbally and the P argument appears postverbally. The A argument is coded as a verbal agreement prefix which may co-occur with an overt NP or pronoun. The P argument is either marked through the use of a separate NP or pronoun or as a pronominal suffix attached to the verb.

In (14a), the A argument referent is the full NP *gwau nen* ‘the child’, in (14b) it is the pronoun *nai* ‘3SG’, and in (14c) it is not expressed explicitly. In all examples, it is coded with a verbal agreement prefix, whether co-occurring with the referent, as in (14a-b) or not, as in (14c). Furthermore, (14a) demonstrates that when the P argument is a full NP, there is no pronominal

suffix marking on the verb. In (14b), however, the P argument is not a full NP. Instead it is indicated as a pronominal suffix on the verb.

- (14)
- | | | | | | |
|---|------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------|---------------|
| A | | AGR _A -V | | P | |
| a. <i>Gwau</i> | <i>nen</i> | <i>a-gui</i> | <i>tulag</i> | <i>je</i> | <i>janom.</i> |
| child | MED.SG.ANI | 3SG.ACT-close | window | CONJ | door |
| ‘The child closes the windows and doors.’ | | | | | |
-
- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| A | AGR _A -V-P |
| b. <i>Nai</i> | <i>a-gui-i.</i> |
| 3SG | 3SG.ACT-close-3PL.PAT |
| ‘She closes them.’ | |
-
- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------|---------------|
| | AGR _A -V | | P |
| c. <i>ja</i> | <i>a-fli</i> | <i>ken</i> | <i>jertai</i> |
| CONJ | 3SG.ACT-openRSYL | 3SG.POSS | clothing |
| ‘then he took off his garment’ | | | |

3.5.3 Ditransitive

Ditransitive verbs are always active verbs. Along with the A argument, they contain two other arguments – the R and the T. Ditransitive constructions are not common in Batuley. The only instances of ditransitive constructions that I have encountered in Batuley make use of the regular active verb *nor* ‘stretch out’ and the irregular verb ‘get’ which is *nal* in the 3SG (see table 2.13 in §2.7.1.2 for a complete paradigm of this irregular verb). When used in ditransitive constructions, these two verbs take on the meaning ‘give’. Batuley exhibits indirective alignment for ditransitive constructions. That is, the T argument of a ditransitive clause behaves morphosyntactically like the P argument of a monotransitive clause, and the R argument behaves differently from both (Haspelmath 2005: 2). The T argument behaves like the P argument in that it appears postverbally as a separate NP or pronoun or may be marked on the verb with P pronominal suffixation, as would be the case for the P argument of a monotransitive verb.

In (15a-b), the T argument is expressed as an NP. It is *buku* ‘book’ in (15a) and *moni* ‘something’ in (15b). In (15c), the T argument is expressed as a pronominal suffix with P suffix morphology because the referent is *siram* ‘axe’, which is a singular ANIMATE object. Following Batuley’s ANIMACY alignment rules, if the T referent is a singular INANIMATE referent, then it is not marked by any pronominal suffixation on the verb; as is the case with (15d) where the unmentioned T refers to the singular INANIMATE noun *bed* ‘machete’, which is understood from the discourse context. The R argument is expressed as a complement of a prepositional phrase (PP). The R argument complement may be expressed either as a pronoun, as in (15a), an NP, as in (15b) or as a pronominal suffix, as in (15c-d).

- (15) a.

A	V	T	AGR _A -PP	R
<i>Id</i>	<i>dal</i>	<i>buku</i>	<i>da-g</i>	<i>kam.</i>
3PL	3PL.ACT:get	book	3PL.ACT-GOAL	1PL.EXCL

‘They gave us a book.’

- b.

A		V		T	AGR _A -PP	R
<i>i-en</i>		<i>ja</i>	<i>a-nor</i>	<i>moni</i>	<i>a-g</i>	<i>i-en.</i>
INDEF-3SG.ANI	SEQ	3SG.ACT-strech.out	something	3SG.ACT- GOAL	INDEF-3SG.ANI	

‘one (of those people) gave something to another one (of those people).’

- c.

A	V-T	AGR _A -PP-R
<i>Nei</i>	<i>nal-en</i>	<i>a-g-ang.</i>
3SG	3SG.ACT:get-3SG.PAT	3SG.ACT-GOAL-1SG

‘He gave it [i.e., the axe] to me.’

- d.

A	V	AGR _A -PP-R
<i>Nei</i>	<i>nal</i>	<i>a-g-ang.</i>
3SG	3SG.ACT:get	2SG.ACT-GOAL-1SG

‘He gave it [i.e., the machete] to me.’

3.5.4 ANIMACY

As was noted in §3.4.4, Batuley makes a distinction in the morphosyntactic treatment of ANIMATE and INANIMATE stative S argument marking and P argument marking with singular reference. The singular ANIMATE stative S arguments and P arguments with singular reference are coded with verbal agreement suffixes and pronominal suffixes, respectively, while INANIMATE stative S arguments and P arguments with singular reference are not. Refer to §3.4.4 on lack of suffixation above for further discussion and examples, as well as §4.3.1.

3.5.5 Summary

Based on the above discussion of alignment patterns for intransitive, monotransitive and ditransitive verbs, I propose that Batuley has an active-stative alignment system with respect to the morphosyntactic treatment of S. This entails that all actors, whether S or A arguments, are morphosyntactically treated in the same way when they are arguments of active verbs. All actors are indexed with agreement prefixes for active verbs. Undergoers are morphosyntactically treated differently depending on the transitivity of the verb. S argument undergoers, which by definition are only present in intransitive clauses, are coded with stative S verbal agreement suffixes. P argument undergoers, which by definition are only present in monotransitive clauses, are coded either with P-marking pronominal suffixes on active verbs or by means of an NP or a pronoun referent following the verb. Figure 3.1 below illustrates these characteristics.

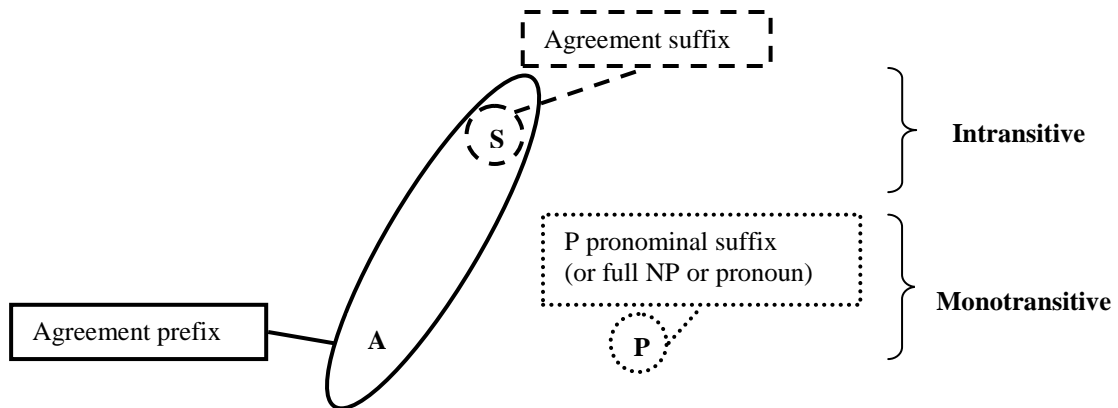


Figure 3.1: Batuley intransitive-monotransitive alignment

For ditransitive clauses, Batuley exhibits what Haspelmath (2005: 2) calls an indirective system. The T argument, which appears in ditransitive clauses only, is morphosyntactically treated as the P argument of a monotransitive clause. The T argument occurs in the same syntactic position as the P argument and may also be marked through P pronominal suffixation. The R argument is treated differently from T and P. It belongs to a prepositional phrase as opposed to the main verb phrase and may be expressed either as a pronominal suffix, an NP or pronoun. Figure 3.2 below illustrates these characteristics.

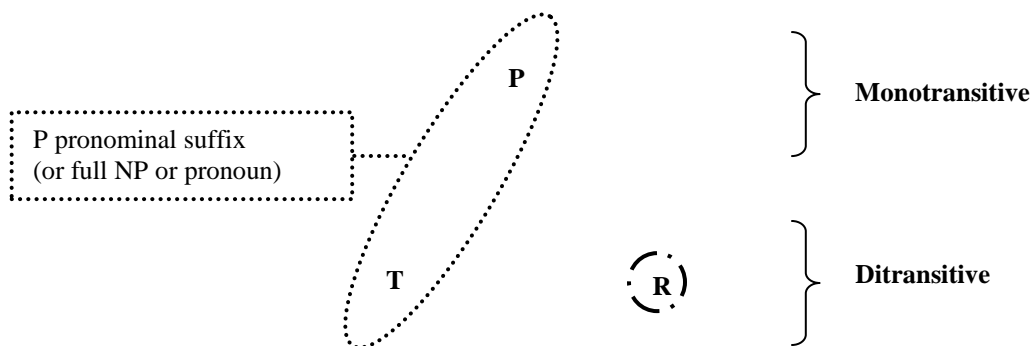


Figure 3.2: Batuley monotransitive-ditransitive alignment

With regard to verbal semantics, Batuley has a lexical active-stative contrast where the notions of agentivity, volitionality and inchoative aspect are important in determining whether a verb is morphosyntactically treated as active or stative. However, the semantic division between active and stative verbs is not so clear-cut for every verb. Although there is an active-stative contrast along distinct semantic lines of agentivity, volitionality and inchoative aspect, there are exceptions which may not be accounted for by synchronic explanations alone. Further investigation is required in this area.

3.6 The intransitivizing prefix *r-*

The prefix *r-* is an intransitivizing prefix (INTR) because lowering the transitivity of the clause is its core function. In this sub-section, I outline the environment and functions of the intransitivizing prefix *r-* (§3.6.1), before briefly explaining the notions of transitivity and middlehood (§3.6.2). I conclude by presenting examples of the prefix's functions in §3.6.3 to §3.6.6.

3.6.1 Environment and functions

The prefix *r-* only occurs with regular active verbs. It prefixes to the verb root, appearing between the verb root and the Set II agreement prefix (figure 3.3). See table 3.9 above for the Set II agreement prefixes.

SET II AGREEMENT PREFIX + (PREFIX <i>r-</i>) + VERB ROOT + (P SUFFIX)
--

Figure 3.3: Position of the intransitivizing prefix (adapted from de Winne 2013a: 51)

The prefix *r-* is characterized as an intransitivizer due to its ability to reduce valency by P argument deletion, but this is only one aspect of the functions it encompasses. There appear to be other functions, such as reciprocity and reflexiveness (coreferentiality) and low individuation of the P argument that contribute to the overall transitivity of a clause. Table 3.26 summarizes the functions of the prefix *r-*.

Table 3.26: The functions of the intransitivizing prefix *r-*

	Function of the Prefix <i>r-</i>
1	P argument deletion
2	Indicates low individuation of P argument
3	Indicates coreferentiality of A and P arguments
4	Presence of <i>r-</i> is lexically determined

3.6.2 Transitivity and middlehood

Transitivity has usually been thought of in terms of the syntactic relation between a verb and its participants where “an activity is ‘carried-over’ or ‘transferred’ from an agent to a patient” (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 251). However, Hopper & Thompson (1980) argue that this is only one component of transitivity and that there are a number of components which can be defined along a continuum from low transitivity to high transitivity. As with earlier studies concerning the languages of Aru [see Hughes (2000: 148-150) for Dobel and de Winne (2013a: 51-53) for Kola], I draw from the notion of transitivity as presented by Hopper & Thompson (1980) to describe the ways the prefix *r-* expresses reduced transitivity. Of Hopper & Thompson's ten properties of transitivity, two are relevant for the analysis. Below, I summarize these two properties from Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252):

PARTICIPANTS: High transitivity is characterized by the presence of two or more distinct participants. An event with only one participant is low in transitivity.

INDIVIDUATION OF P ARGUMENT: The patient is individuated (proper, human/animate, specific, etc.) with high transitivity and non-individuated (common, inanimate, non-specific, etc.) with low transitivity.

Middleness is an important concept in our discussion of transitivity. Kemmer defines the middle as “a semantic area comprising events in which (a) the Initiator is also an Endpoint, or affected entity and (b) the event is characterized by a low degree of elaboration” (1993: 243). The middle comprises low transitivity events where the A and P arguments are somewhat coreferential (reciprocal/reflexive) and where the arguments or component sub-events are not strongly distinguished (affected or individuated). Middle events are not prototypical transitive verbs (with at least two semantic arguments) or prototypical intransitive verbs (with one semantic argument) but are instead found along the scale between the two. Furthermore, middle events are differentiated from true reciprocals and reflexives in that they have a slightly lower “distinguishability of participants” (Kemmer 1993: 73) – that is, a slightly lower degree of affectedness or individuation of arguments – and therefore appear lower on the scale, closer to a prototypical intransitive event. Figure 3.4 below, adapted from Kemmer (1993: 73), illustrates the relatedness of coreferentiality to the middle in terms of the semantic parameter of the distinguishability of participants.

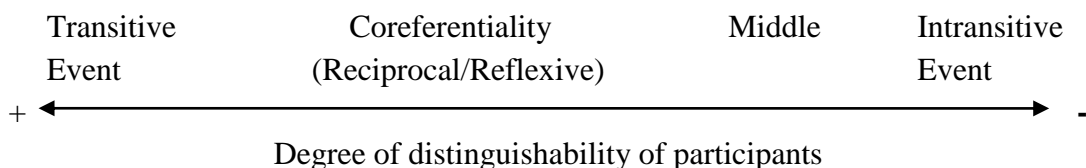


Figure 3.4: Relatedness of coreferentiality and the middle (adapted from Kemmer 1993: 73)

I partly employ Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) properties of transitivity and Kemmer’s (1993) categorization of middleness to exemplify the transitivity reducing functions of the prefix *r-*.

3.6.3 The prefix *r-* deletes the P argument

The prefix *r-* deletes the P argument. Transitivity is reduced because there are fewer participants in the clause. For example, (16a) is higher in transitivity than (16b) because the P argument, *jig* ‘fish’, of the verb *nai* ‘cook’ is present in (16a). In (16b), the valency of the clause is lower. There is no P argument. Its absence is signaled by the intransitivizing prefix *r-*.

- (16) a. *Ku-nai jig.*
 1SG.ACT-cook fish
 ‘I cook fish.’

- b. *Ko-r-nai.*
 1SG.ACT-INTR-cook
 ‘I cook.’

Similarly, (17a) is higher in transitivity than (17b) because the P argument, *man* ‘bird’, is present in (17a). In (17b), the valency of the clause is lower because the P argument is absent. This is signaled by the intransitivizing prefix *r-*.

- (17) a. *Kaem mi-ga man.*
 2PL 2PL.ACT-hunt/chase bird
 ‘You hunt birds.’
- b. *Kaem mina-r-ka.*
 2PL 2PL.ACT-INTR-hunt/chase
 ‘You hunt.’

3.6.4 The prefix *r-* indicates low individuation of the P argument

There are some indications that the prefix *r-* can be used to signal that the P argument is non-specific, thereby lowering the transitivity through low individuation of the P argument. Unfortunately, no clear contrastive examples of this phenomenon have been found in my own data. This area requires further investigation. In (18) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), the intransitivizing prefix appears to signal that the P argument NP, in this case *jig* ‘fish’, is unspecified.

- (18) *Tamata da-r-ton jig.*
 person 3PL.ACT-INTR-illuminate fish
 ‘People are fishing.’ (lit. ‘People are illuminating fish.’) (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

This contrasts with (19) from my own fieldnotes, where the P argument NP, which is also *jig* ‘fish’ in this example, has a higher degree of individuation than the P argument in (18) perhaps because of the lack of the prefix *r-*.

- (19) *Ang ku-ban ku-ton jig ku-faki senter.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-illuminate fish 1SG.ACT-use flashlight
 ‘I am going fishing with a flashlight.’

Similarly, in (20) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), the presence of the prefix *r-* appears to indicate that the P argument NP *manam* ‘food’ is unspecified. No contrastive example was found. Again, further investigation is required in this area. A test would be to see whether a demonstrative or a numeral is permitted with the P.

- (20) *Ang ko-r-folag manam.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-mix food
 ‘I am mixing (some) food.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

3.6.5 The prefix *r-* indicates coreferentiality of A and P arguments

The prefix *r-* may reduce the transitivity of the clause by shifting the focus to the A argument. The P argument becomes coreferential with the A argument in what are characterized as reciprocal and reflexive events. These events are intermediate on the scale of transitivity between clauses with two or more participants (transitive events) and those with only one (intransitive events), as illustrated in figure 3.4 above. There is no morphosyntactic distinction with regard to the treatment of reciprocals and reflexives. In all coreferential constructions, the prefix *r-* is accompanied by verb root reduplication (see §8.4.1).

(21a) illustrates a reciprocal construction. The presence of the prefix *r-* indicates that the argument pronominal suffix *-sit* ‘1PL.INCL.PAT’ is coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *ta-* ‘1PL.INCL.ACT’. In contrast, the P argument pronominal suffix *-sit* ‘1PL.INCL.PAT’ in (21b) is not coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *da-* ‘3PL.ACT’ and, therefore, the prefix *r-* is not present.

- (21) a. *Sit ta-r-da~dawar-sit.*
 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL.ACT-INTR-RDP~hit-1PL.INCL.PAT
 ‘We hit each other/ourselves.’
 b. *Id da-dawar-sit.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT-hit-1PL.INCL.PAT
 ‘They hit us.’

(22a) presents a reflexive construction. The presence of the prefix *r-* indicates that the P argument pronominal suffix *-eg* ‘2SG.PAT’ is coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *mo-* ‘2SG.ACT’. In contrast, the P argument pronominal suffix *-ei* ‘3PL.PAT’ in (22b) is not coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’ and, therefore, the prefix *r-* is not present.

- (22) a. *kaig mo-r-ka<lag>lag-eg*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-2SG.PAT
 ‘you hide (yourself)’
 b. *Ang ku-glag-ei.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-3PL.PAT
 ‘I hide them [i.e., the books].’

The coreferential argument can also be the implied possessor of the P argument NP. Compare the following. In (23a), the P argument is coded by the pronominal suffix *-ei* ‘3PL.PAT’, which is attached to the reduplicated verb root *jit* ‘stare’. It is coreferential with the A argument coded by the agreement prefix *da-* ‘3PL.ACT’, hence the presence of the prefix *r-*. In (23b), the P argument is the NP *nungin* ‘face-3PL.POSS’. The prefix *r-* is present between the A argument agreement prefix and the verb root because the possessor of the P argument NP is coreferential with the A argument.

- (23) a. *Tamata dini da-r-jit~jit-ei.*
 person PROX.VIS.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~stare-3PL.PAT
 ‘These people stare at each other.’
- b. *Tamata dini da-r-jit~jit nung-in ...*
 person PROX.VIS.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~stare face-PL.POSS
 ‘These people stare at each other’s faces ...’

3.6.6 The presence of the prefix *r-* is lexically determined

There are several verbs which lexically require the prefix *r-* (table 3.27). The majority of these verbs are event-types which express middle events. I attempt to arrange the verbs in table 3.27 in terms of the categories outlined in Kemmer’s checklist for middle semantics (1993: 267-270). This is a tentative list. Several of these verbs are questionable because of a lack of data.

Table 3.27: Verbs which lexically require the prefix *r-*

Verb	English	Category
<i>bafaer</i>	‘sneeze’	‘body actions’
<i>fang</i>	‘yawn’	
<i>gwalam</i>	‘salivate’	
<i>jabon</i>	‘sweat’	
<i>jis</i>	‘urinate’	
<i>mar</i>	‘snore’	
<i>bar</i>	‘leap’	‘translational motion’
<i>bauler</i>	‘roll’	‘nontranslational motion’
<i>tar</i>	‘flow’	
<i>boi</i>	‘stop’; ‘rest’	‘spontaneous event associated with animate beings’
<i>dian</i>	‘be pregnant’	
<i>tufui</i>	‘grow’	
<i>ebam</i>	‘be tight’	‘spontaneous event associated with inanimate beings’
<i>kunel</i>	‘be yellow’	
<i>laylor</i>	‘shine’	

<i>fagen</i>	‘lie prone’	‘positional’
<i>gog</i>	‘be moored’	
<i>taruan</i>	‘be in place’	
<i>rag</i>	‘know/understand’	‘cognition middle’
<i>fal</i>	‘be widowed’	‘reciprocal domain’
<i>tau</i>	‘be married’	
<i>na</i>	‘teach’	‘transitive event’

I believe that the prefix *r-* occurs obligatorily on these verbs for three reasons: i) other instances of *r*-initial verbs take Set I agreement prefixes, but these verbs take Set II prefixes; (ii) some of these verbs are derived from nouns; (iii) other languages of Aru share cognates with these verbs [Hughes (2000: 148-150) for Dobel; de Winne (2013a: 51-53) for Kola; Schapper (p.c.) for Ujir; and Nivens (p.c.) for West Tarangan]. Points (i) and (ii) will be discussed further here.

Verbs that are *r*-initial – that is, where the verb root begins with *r* – take Set I agreement prefix because the *r* is a part of the verb root and not a prefix. As an example, table 3.28 illustrates that the *r*-initial regular active verb *rengar* ‘hear’ takes Set I agreement prefixes. The verbs in table 3.28, however, take Set II agreement prefixes. This is evidence that the prefix *r-* is indeed a prefix and not a part of the root for such verbs.

Table 3.28: Regular active verb *rengar* ‘hear’ with Set I agreement prefixes

1SG	<i>ku-rengar</i>	1SG.ACT-hear
2SG	<i>mu-rengar</i>	2SG.ACT-hear
3SG	<i>a-rengar</i>	3SG.ACT-hear
1PL.INCL	<i>ta-rengar</i>	1PL.INCL.ACT-hear
1PL.EXCL	<i>ma-rengar</i>	1PL.EXCL.ACT-hear
2PL	<i>mi-rengar</i>	2PL.ACT-hear
3PL	<i>da-rengar</i>	3PL.ACT-hear

Some intransitive verbs which take the prefix *r-* obligatorily are derived from nouns. The verb stem has the same form as the non-*r*-initial noun from which they are derived. Table 3.29 presents these verbs and (24) illustrates an example of one such verb with the prefix *r-*.

Table 3.29: Verbs derived from nouns which lexically require the prefix *r-*

Verb	English		Noun	English
<i>jabon</i>	‘sweat’		<i>jabon</i>	‘sweat’
<i>layor</i>	‘shine’		<i>layor</i>	‘flame’
<i>taruan</i>	‘be in place’		<i>taruan</i>	‘place’

- (24) *Kaig mu-jamor joi mo-r-jabon.*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-walk CONJ 2SG.ACT-INTR-sweat
 ‘You walk so much that you sweat.’

The transitive verb *rag* ‘know/understand’, originally *r-ag*, is in the process of changing. It appears to have lexicalized its use of the intransitivizing prefix *r-* to the extent that the prefix is now fossilized to the verb root. As such, I write the verb as *rag* instead of *ag*. See §2.7.1.1 on prefixation morphophonology for a more detailed discussion of this verb. An example of *rag* is as follows.

- (25) *Da-frang da-rag takun Rar Dub-ui.*
 3PL.ACT-all 3PL.ACT-know/understand story girl six-3PL.ANI
 ‘They all know the story of the Six Girls.’

At least one transitive verb, *na* ‘teach’, takes the prefix *r-* obligatorily, as seen in (26).

- (26) *Ang ko-r-na gwau neno.*
 1SG. 1SG.ACT-INTR-teach child MED.ANI.SG
 ‘I teach that child.’

There are also at least two verbs with middle semantics which optionally, but frequently, occur with the prefix *r-*. These verbs are halfway between verbs which can take the prefix *r-* and those which take the prefix *r-* obligatorily. These verbs are tentatively presented in table 3.30. See §5.4 on unmarked obliques for more on these two verbs. As with table 3.27, I present Kemmer’s checklist for middle semantics categories for the two verbs in table 3.30 (1993: 267-270).

Table 3.30: Verbs with middle semantics which frequently occur with the prefix *r-*

Verb	English	Category
<i>tabrer</i>	‘stand’	‘change in body posture’ or ‘positional’
<i>talar</i>	‘sit’	

3.7 The non-finite prefix *jer-*

Active verb roots can be prefixed with *jer-*. This prefix is very marginal, and I do not have many examples of it. The addition of the prefix renders the verb non-finite (NF). The verb is, therefore, not marked for person or number and does not function as the predicate. The non-finite prefix can be used as a nominalizer, as seen in table 3.31.

Table 3.31: Examples of the nominalizing function of the non-finite prefix *jer-*

Verb	Meaning		Verb with non-finite prefix	Meaning
<i>rule</i>	‘argue’		<i>jer-rule</i>	‘argument’
<i>gurog</i>	‘be feverish’		<i>jer-gurog</i>	‘fever’
<i>fir</i>	‘dream’		<i>jer-fir</i>	‘dream’ (n.)

In addition, the non-finite prefix *jer-* is used in noun modifying environments. I do not have any examples of this function myself. The following examples come from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). In the following, the state or action conveyed by the verb modifies the preceding noun. The exact semantic relationship between the non-finite verb and the preceding noun is dependent upon the specific semantics of the marked verb. The non-finite verb is reduplicated when it modifies the preceding noun in an attributive construction, as in (27).

- (27) *tamata jer-ta~tau*
 person NF-RDP~marry
 ‘married person’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

However, the non-finite verb is not reduplicated when it acts as a purposive adjunct to the preceding noun, as in examples (28a-b).

- (28) a. *sabu jer-tofal*
 soap NF-wash
 ‘soap/powder for washing clothes’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. *sabu jer-tuir*
 soap NF-wash
 ‘soap for bathing’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

3.8 Suffixation: Historical insights

Compared to the verbal inflection systems of other Aru languages, it is surprising at first glance that Batuley has a handful of verb classes and suffixation sets for stative S and P pronominal marking (see §2.7.2.1 and §3.4). For example, in the neighbouring languages of Dobel (Hughes 2000: 140) and Kola (de Winne 2013a: 39), the stative S and P pronominal paradigms have more or less one identical set. A possible explanation for this difference requires a thorough diachronic and comparative investigation. The purpose of this section is to highlight this issue and present some preliminary hypotheses for future research.

It appears that Batuley has lost the majority of its once word-final vowels and semivowels. This is apparent when comparing Batuley to other Aru languages and their proposed reconstructions. Table 3.32 presents a few comparative examples of Proto-Aru and Batuley. Note

that Batuley no longer displays the word-final vowel or semivowel once present in Proto-Aru. All Proto-Aru reconstructions are from Nivens (n.d.).

Table 3.32: Batuley's loss of word-final vowel and semivowels

Proto-Aru	Batuley	English
*yoba	<i>job-</i>	'good'; 'well'
*+yaka	<i>-jag</i>	'guard'
*kubu	<i>kum</i>	'stone'
*naru+	<i>nar</i>	'long'
*jaw+	<i>ja-</i>	'far'; 'old'
*+naw	<i>-na</i>	'teach'
*+nagaw	<i>-nanga</i>	'steal'

In addition to losing word-final vowels and semivowels through deletion, Batuley's historical stative S and P pronominal marking suffixes may have lost their final vowel through metathesis and/or deletion. In Dobel (Hughes 2000: 140), Kola (de Winne 2013a: 39) and West Tarangan (Nivens 1992: 180), these suffixes generally take the form -CV and -CVCV. In Batuley, they are of the form -VC and -CVC.

The fact that Batuley now has a complex system of verb classes, where the class of the verb is lexically determined and takes a specific suffixation set, may be due in part to (a) the loss of word-final vowels and semivowels and (b) metathesis and/or deletion in the suffixes. Take for instance the stative verb *nar* 'long'. *Nar* is a Class IIa verb and therefore takes Set IIa stative S suffixes (see §3.4.1). The Set IIa suffixes begin with the vowel /u/ in the SG and 3PL forms (see table 3.1 in §3.4.1). The choice of this class and set may be explained in part by the Proto-Aru form of the verb *naru+, which also ends in the vowel /u/. In this light, we can posit two points: (i) that the final vowel of the historical verb root only appears when suffixation follows the verb root; and (ii) that the final-vowel has now been incorporated into the suffixation paradigm. Batuley has developed so far over time that these vowels have lexicalized into multiple suffixation sets, whose choice is lexically determined by their verb class. In other instances, the choice of suffixation set may be the result of a complex series of metathesis, vowel assimilation and/or deletion in the suffix and interaction with the pre-existing verb root final vowel. Indeed, in the northern dialect of Dobel, not far from the Batuley-speaking region, there is evidence of metathesis and vowel elision in the suffixation system (Hughes 2000: 137-138). Perhaps similar processes have taken place over time in Batuley.

This observation may help explain the varied suffixation sets evident in other areas of Batuley. For instance, it is noted in §7.3.4 that the goal-introducing verbal preposition *eg* 'GOAL' has a unique set of pronominal suffixes. Similarly, alienable possessive morphemes take unique sets of suffixes, as discussed in §4.9.2. Perhaps these systems are also the result of a complex process of metathesis, vowel assimilation and/or deletion in the suffix and interaction with the pre-existing

root final vowel. Further historical-comparative work is required in this area which goes beyond the scope of this thesis.

4 Nouns, noun phrases and pronouns

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the following sub-topics pertaining to nouns, noun phrases and pronouns: nouns and noun phrase properties (§4.2), gender (§4.3), demonstratives (§4.4), quantifiers (§4.5), the indefinite *i* (§4.6), the plural marker *je* (§4.7), attributes and relative clauses (§4.8), possession (§4.9), conjoining nouns and NPs (§4.10) and pronouns (§4.11).

4.2 Nouns and noun phrase properties

4.2.1 Properties of nouns

Nouns in Batuley constitute their own word class. Nouns are defined by their ability to be the head noun (N_{HEAD}) of an NP (noun phrase). Nouns have gender, they can be possessed, they can be quantified and they can hold various grammatical argument positions. Nouns are not marked for number or case.

There are two kinds of nominal classification: gender classification and possessive classification. Nouns are classified as either ANIMATE or INANIMATE gender. The N_{HEAD} governs gender marking – that is, it gives its gender to the entire NP that it heads. Gender is not evident on the noun itself but is made known by way of gender marking forms on the demonstrative, numeral, indefinite and verbal morphology systems. In (1a-b), the gender of each N_{HEAD} is marked on their target demonstratives. See §4.3 for more on gender.

- (1) a. *gwau nane*
child PROX.SG.ANI
‘this child’

- b. *fanu on*
village PROX.SG.INA
‘this village’

Nouns can be possessed regardless of their alienability. Batuley has preposed possessors for both inalienably and alienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns mark possession directing on the noun. In (2a), the possessor *Jonias* ‘Jonias’ preposes the possessed noun *aem* ‘father<3SG.POSS>’. The ablaut <*e*> ‘3SG.POSS’ is the direct marking of possession on the inalienably possessed noun in this example. Alienably possessed nouns mark possession indirectly on the noun. (2b) illustrates an alienably possessed construction. The possessor *Jonias* ‘Jonias’ preposes the possessed noun *lef* ‘house’. Possession is indicated indirectly with a possessive morpheme preceding the possessed noun – in this case, *ken* ‘3SG.POSS’. See §4.9 for more on possessive constructions.

(2) a. *Jonias a<e>m*
 NAME father<3SG.POSS>
 ‘Jonias’ father’

b. *Jonias ken lef*
 NAME 3SG.POSS house
 ‘Jonias’ house’

Nouns can be quantified. The examples in (3a-b) illustrate this. (3a) presents an INANIMATE noun *tabar* ‘seed’, and (3b) presents an ANIMATE noun *fuis* ‘cat’, each quantified by the numeral ‘three’.

(3) a. *tabar laes*
 seed three
 ‘three seeds’

b. *fuis las-i*
 cat three-3PL.ANI
 ‘three cats’

Nouns can head NPs and NPs can occupy argument positions in the clause. In (4), the NP *gogobu dino* ‘these children’, which is headed by the noun *gogobu* ‘child’, is the S argument of an intransitive clause. In (5), the nouns *gwau* ‘child’ and *tulag* ‘hole’ head the NPs which are in the A and P argument slots of the verbal clause, respectively. In (6) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), the nouns *nor* ‘coconut’ and *bafak* ‘father’ occupy the T and R argument positions, respectively. Note that the R argument *bafak* ‘father’ is the complement of a prepositional phrase headed by *-g* ‘GOAL’.

S V-AGR_S
 (4) [*Gogobu dino*]_{NP} *sok-i*.
 child MED.PL small-3PL.STV
 ‘These children are small.’

A AGR_{A-V} P
 (5) *Ja [gwau nane]*_{NP} *a-fli* [*tulag*]_{NP}
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-open:RSYL hole
 ‘Then the child opened the window.’

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| | A | T | AGR _A -PP | R |
| (6) | [<i>Ang</i>] _{NP} <i>kol</i> | [<i>nor</i>] _{NP} | <i>ku-g</i> | [<i>bafak</i>] _{NP} . |
| | 1SG 1SG.ACT:get | coconut | 1SG.ACT-GOAL | father |
| | ‘I gave a coconut to the older man.’ | | | |
| | (Pszczolka n.d.-a) | | | |

4.2.2 Noun phrase template

Figure 4.1 below shows the Batuley NP template and is followed by examples. The curly brackets ({}) indicate that the INDEF and PL markers likely cannot occur together or in conjunction with quantifiers or demonstratives. Pronouns (see §4.11) and interrogatives (see §5.7) can be head nouns.

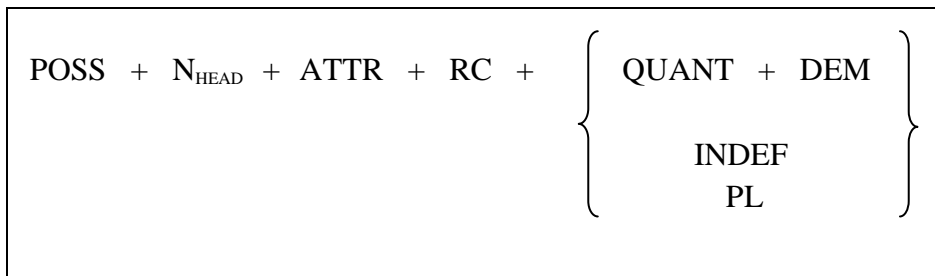


Figure 4.1: NP template

The possessor preposes the possessed N_{HEAD}. In (7), the possessor is elided because it is understood from the context, but the possessive morpheme *ken* ‘3SG.POSS’ is still present.

- POSS + N_{HEAD}
- (7) *ken* ***tara***
- 3SG.POSS **dog**
- ‘his dog’

In (8), the N_{HEAD} *jig* ‘fish’ is modified by the attribute *jinjinen* ‘big’; and in (9) from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), the N_{HEAD} *tamata* ‘person’ is modified by the relative clause *damdam fanu enon* ‘(who are) in that village’.

- N_{HEAD} + ATTR
- (8) ***jig*** *jin~jin-en*
- fish** RDP~big-3SG.ANI.STV
- ‘big fish’

- N_{HEAD} + RC
- (9) ***tamata*** *dam~dam* *fanu* *enon*
- person** RDP~3PL.ACT:be.at village MED.SG.INA
- ‘people in that village’
- (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:14)

In (10), the N_{HEAD} *kader* ‘chair’ is modified by a numeral. In (11), the N_{HEAD} *bog* ‘canoe’ is modified by the quantifier *tarai* ‘some’.

- N_{HEAD} + QUANT
- (10) *kader* *lim*
 chair five
 ‘five chairs’

- N_{HEAD} + QUANT
- (11) *bog* *tarai*
 canoe some
 ‘some canoes’

In (12), the N_{HEAD} *karta* ‘small rodent’ is modified by a demonstrative.

- N_{HEAD} + DEM
- (12) *karta* *dini*
 small.rodent PROX.PL
 ‘these small rodents’

In (13), the N_{HEAD} *nono* ‘message’ is modified by the indefinite *i*. In (14), the N_{HEAD} *bed* ‘machete’ is modified by the plural marker *je*.

- N_{HEAD} + INDEF *i*
- (13) *nono* *i*
 message INDEF
 ‘a message’

- N_{HEAD} + PL
- (14) *bed* *je*
 machete PL
 ‘machetes’

In my data, the N_{HEAD} never occurs with more than two modifiers. In (15), the N_{HEAD} *tara* ‘dog’ is followed by an attributive stative verb and a numeral. The N_{HEAD} *tamata* ‘person’ in (16) is followed by a numeral and a demonstrative.

- N_{HEAD} + ATTR + NUM
- (15) *tara* *far~far-i* *ru-ei*
 dog RDP~black-3PL.STV two-3PL.ANI
 ‘two black dogs’

$N_{\text{HEAD}} + \text{NUM} + \text{DEM}$

- (16) *tamata ru-ei dino*
person two-3PL.ANI MED.PL
 ‘those two people’

An NP can function in the absence of its N_{HEAD} referent. In (17), the numeral *kauei* ‘four’ functions pronominally in the absence of its N_{HEAD} referent. Likewise, in (18) from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), the attribute *muirmuirin* ‘youngest’ functions pronominally because its N_{HEAD} referent is not present.

- (17) [\emptyset **Kau-ei**]_{NP} *idafon da-ban Dom.*
four-3PL.ANI yesterday 3PL.ACT-go Dobo
 ‘Yesterday, the four (men) went to Dobo.’

- (18) *Komo ja [\emptyset mui~muir-in]_{NP} a-wang ken pusak.*
 NEG far **RDP~back-3SG.ANL.STV** 3SG.ACT-sell 3SG.POSS inheritance
 ‘It was not long before the youngest (son) sold his inheritance.’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:1)

4.3 Gender

Nouns are divided into two genders: ANIMATE and INANIMATE. As a covert system, noun class gender is only evident on the targets of gender marking (§4.3.1). The gender system has a strong semantic basis (§4.3.2).

4.3.1 Targets of gender marking

Noun class gender is a covert property of nouns. That is, the gender of a noun is not apparent on the lexical form of the noun itself. Instead, it is evident through marking on certain agreement targets. Gender is marked on the following four targets: i) singular demonstratives; ii) numerals; iii) indefinite *i*; iv) in the 3SG verbs. On all targets, except for numerals, the distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender is neutralized in the plural.

An ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender distinction is made in the singular with demonstratives. Compare (19a-b). In (19a), the INANIMATE noun *ngom* ‘cloth’ triggers the use of the INANIMATE demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’. In (19b), the ANIMATE noun *kodar* ‘female’ triggers the use of the ANIMATE demonstrative *nen* ‘MED.SG.ANI’. See §4.4 for a discussion of demonstratives.

- (19) a. *ngom en*
 cloth MED.SG.INA
 ‘that cloth’

- b. *kodar nen*
 female MED.SG.ANI
 ‘that woman’

An ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender distinction is made for nouns with singular and plural reference in the numeral person-number agreement system. Compare (20a-b). In (20a), the numeral modifier *et* ‘one’ with singular reference lacks ANIMACY marking because the noun *fui* ‘fruit’ is INANIMATE. In contrast, the ANIMATE noun *fuis* ‘cat’ in (20b) triggers the use of the singular agreement marker *-un* ‘3SG.ANI’ on the numeral modifier *et* ‘one’.

- (20) a. *fui et*
 fruit one
 ‘one fruit’
- b. *fuis et-un*
 cat one-3SG.ANI
 ‘one cat’

Numeral person-number agreement is the only context in which a gender distinction is marked for plural nouns. Compare (21a-b). The numeral *ru* ‘two’ in (21a) is unmarked for ANIMACY because the controller noun *kalei* ‘boat’ is INANIMATE, while in (21a), the ANIMATE noun *anis* ‘flying fox’ triggers the use of the plural agreement marker *-ei* ‘3PL.ANI’ on the target numeral modifier *ru* ‘two’. For more on numerals, refer to §4.5.1.

- (21) a. *kalei ru*
 boat two
 ‘two boats’
- b. *anis ru-ei*
 flying.fox two-3PL.ANI
 ‘two flying foxes’

With the indefinite *i*, there is a similar distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE as with numeral person-number agreement.⁵² Compare (22a-b). The indefinite *i* of (22a) is unmarked for ANIMACY because the controller noun *foen* ‘piece’ is INANIMATE. In contrast, the ANIMATE noun *gwalian* ‘sibling’ of (22b) triggers the use of the singular agreement marker *-en* ‘3SG.ANI’ on the target indefinite *i*. For more on the indefinite *i*, refer to §4.6.

⁵² The indefinite *i* probably behaves similarly to the numeral ‘one’ *et*, as illustrated in the examples in (21a-b), because it was historically the numeral ‘one’. See §4.6 for more on this point and Schapper (2015:71-72) for this point in relation to Ujir.

- (22) a. *foen i*
 piece INDEF
 ‘a piece’
- b. *gwalian i-en*
 sibling INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘a sibling’

An ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender distinction is made in the 3SG with suffixes that occur on stative verbs (see §3.4.1 for agreement suffixes and stative verbs). Compare (23a-b). In (23a) the stative verb *gwanjin* ‘big’ lacks ANIMACY marking because the controller noun *toko* ‘shop’ is INANIMATE and has singular reference. In contrast, in (23b), the ANIMATE noun *gwau* ‘child’ triggers the use of the agreement marker *-en* ‘3SG.ANI.STV’ on the target stative verb *gwanjin* ‘big’ because it is ANIMATE and has singular reference. For more on the lack of verbal suffixation on stative verbs due to gender, refer to §3.4.4.

- (23) a. *Toko en gwanjin.*
 shop MED.SG.ANI big
 ‘The machete is sharp.’
- b. *Gwau neno gwanjin-en*
 child MED.SG.ANI big-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘That child is big.’

An ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender distinction is also made in the singular with suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (see §3.4.3 for P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs). Compare (24a-b). In (24a), the P argument is the INANIMATE and singular NP *ken bog ken sol* ‘the rope of his canoe’, which is understood from the discourse context. There is a lack of P pronominal gender marking on the transitive active verb *tale* ‘pull’ because the P argument NP is INANIMATE and has singular reference. In contrast, in (24b), the P argument is the ANIMATE NP *tamata nen* ‘that person’, which is understood from the discourse context. This P argument NP triggers the use of the P pronominal marker *-in* ‘3SG.ANI.PAT’ on the target transitive active verb *tale* ‘pull’ because it is ANIMATE and is with singular reference. For more on the lack of verbal suffixation on transitive active verbs due to gender, refer to §3.4.4.

- (24) a. *Nei a-tale.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT-pull
 ‘He pulls it.’ (referring to *ken bog ken sol* ‘the rope of his canoe’ (3SG.INA))

- b. *Ang ku-tal-in.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-3SG/PL:pull-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘I pull him.’ (referring to *tamata nen* ‘that person’)

4.3.2 Semantics of gender assignment

The gender system has a strong semantic basis. If a noun’s real-world, semantic referent is discernibly animate or inanimate, then the noun is usually classified with the ANIMATE or INANIMATE gender, respectively. For example, the real-world animate noun *fuis* ‘cat’ is classified as ANIMATE, and the real-world inanimate noun *turug* ‘knife’ is classified as INANIMATE. However, there are nouns with real-world inanimate referents, such as *nguis* ‘large earthen water jar’, that are classified as ANIMATE. Very little is known about what determines the choice of ANIMACY for nouns with inanimate real-world referents. The observations that follow are very preliminary.

Table 4.1 illustrates the relationship between the gender classification of nouns and the real-world, semantic animacy of their referents. Note that all nouns with real-world referents that are discernibly animate are classified as ANIMATE nouns. No biologically animate nouns (i.e., animals and humans) are classified as INANIMATE. Furthermore, most, but not all, nouns with inanimate real-world, semantic referents are INANIMATE.

Table 4.1: Nominal classification and real-world semantic animacy

		Real-world semantic animacy	
		animate	inanimate
GENDER	ANIMATE	all	some
	INANIMATE	-	most

4.3.2.1 Variable gender classification

The ANIMACY gender system is labile in that an ANIMATE noun may be marked as INANIMATE if the real-world, semantic animacy of the noun’s referent alters. For instance, *jig* ‘fish’ is ANIMATE but can be classified as INANIMATE if the speaker is referring to a dead fish or a piece of a fish. In this sense, there are two properties at work in determining the ANIMACY of a noun: i) the real-world animacy of the noun’s referent, and ii) the part-whole distinction of the real-world noun’s referent.

A part-whole distinction in reference is made for vegetation. This distinction determines whether a noun is treated as ANIMATE or INANIMATE. Whole plants are ANIMATE while branches, leaves, and fruits are INANIMATE. The noun *nor* ‘coconut tree’ is ANIMATE but its fruit, *nor* ‘coconut’, is INANIMATE. Some body parts, even those of living human referents, have variable gender classification. For instance, *mat-* ‘eye’ is ANIMATE but can be treated as INANIMATE in reference to the eye of a dead animal. Some discussion with language informants on this issue suggests that this labile classification of body parts is due to a real-world animacy distinction and, in some cases, a part-whole distinction in reference. Despite this, several body parts are always

treated as either ANIMATE or INANIMATE with no possibility for variable classification. Further investigation is required in this area.

Humans, as in *tamata* ‘person’, and spiritual entities, such as *ninitui* ‘spirit’, are always classified as ANIMATE regardless of the sentience of the real-world, semantic referent. In (25), *tamata* ‘person’ takes the ANIMATE demonstrative *ner* ‘NVIS.SG.ANI’ even though the person has passed away. This phenomenon is likely due to the observation across the world’s languages that humans and spiritual entities occupy a higher position on the Animacy Hierarchy than other nouns such as animals and plants (Silverstein 1976).

- (25) *Ya, tamata ner la am onen.*
 INTERJ person NVIS.SG.ANI if 3SG.ACT:be.at PROX.SG.INA
 ‘Oh, how I wish that person [who has passed away] were here.’

4.3.2.2 Inanimate nouns with ANIMATE gender marking

Certain nouns with real-world, semantic inanimate referents are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. Table 4.2 tentatively presents the board semantic categories in which the majority of these nouns are grouped.

Table 4.2: Inanimate nouns with ANIMATE gender marking

Semantic Category
Common material items including many borrowed words
Shaft-like items
Clothing and grooming items
Small number of naturally occurring objects, features and seasons
Musical instruments

4.3.2.2.1 Common material items including many borrowed words

Many common material items are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. All such items occurring in my data are presented in table 4.3. I attempt to organize the words by semantic category, but there is some overlap. Some words, especially in the category of ‘borrowed words for common material items’, overlap with categories in this table as well as those in subsequent sub-sections.

Table 4.3: Common material items assigned to the ANIMATE gender

Word	English	Category
<i>gulor</i>	‘earthen water jar’	The house
<i>jurjur</i>	‘spoon’	
<i>kabel</i>	‘bamboo tongs for cooking’	
<i>kadug</i>	‘sack’	
<i>kirjaban</i>	‘mat’	
<i>kufal</i>	‘type of basket’	

<i>laglagor</i>	‘broom’	
<i>nguis</i>	‘large earthen water jar’	
<i>rewon</i>	‘ladder’	
<i>salal kawowoi</i>	‘mirror’	
<i>tubal</i>	‘bowl’	
<i>angar</i>	‘sago processing trough’	Tools
<i>awawor</i>	‘pounder’	
<i>farfalu</i>	‘hammer’	
<i>kerker</i>	‘grater’	
<i>netag</i>	‘chisel’	
<i>siram</i>	‘axe’	
<i>uref</i>	‘nail’	
<i>arloji</i>	‘watch’	Borrowed words for common material items
<i>balet</i>	‘can’	
<i>botal</i>	‘bottle’	
<i>faneti</i>	‘safety pin’	
<i>feti</i>	‘box’	
<i>forok</i>	‘fork’	
<i>gunting</i>	‘scissors’	
<i>kaleng</i>	‘can’	
<i>kas</i>	‘cupboard’	
<i>ketal</i>	‘kettle’	
<i>leilaiam</i> ⁵³	‘kite’	
<i>loyang</i>	‘pot’	
<i>mangkot</i>	‘dish’	
<i>martelo</i>	‘hammer’	
<i>surat</i>	‘letter’	

The following examples in (26a-b) illustrate that these types of nouns are assigned ANIMATE gender. In (26a), the ANIMATE noun *siram* ‘axe’ triggers the use of the ANIMATE demonstrative *nen* ‘MED.SG.ANI’ and the stative verb agreement maker *-un* ‘3SG.ANI.STV’. In (26b), ANIMATE *fetfeti* ‘small box’ triggers the use of the agreement marker *-en* ‘3SG.ANI’ on the indefinite *i*.

- (26) a. *Siram nen mangn-un.*
axe MED.SG.ANI sharp:SG/3PL-3SG.ANI.STV
‘That axe is sharp.’

⁵³ Form the Malay *layang-layang* ‘kite’.

- b. *Kodar neno a-fli fet~feti i-en.*
 female MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-open:RSYL RDP~box INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘That woman opened a small box.’

ANIMATE gender appears to be frequently assigned to borrowings. This phenomenon is common in the Aru languages, as discussed throughout Schapper (2015). Other Malay borrowings such as *tiyang* ‘support beam’, *bandera* ‘flag’ and *jambatang* ‘bridge’, are assigned to the ANIMATE gender in Batuley. Even the recent term *laptop* ‘laptop’ is assigned to the ANIMATE gender. However, sometimes the criterion of real-world, semantic animacy may be at work in deciding which ANIMACY gender to assign to a borrowed word. This may be the reason for the INANIMATE gender assignment to Malay borrowings like *senter* ‘flashlight’ and *semeng* ‘cement’. Another possibility is that speakers may differ in the ANIMACY gender they assign to borrowings in Batuley. Although there is no concrete evidence for this yet from my own data, a systematic study could explore this possibility further. Indeed, for West Tarangan, Nivens notes that “some speakers adhere to the criterion of semantic animacy, while others tend to put all Malay nouns in the ‘animate’ [ANIMATE] subcategory” (1998: 60). This is a rich area for further investigation.

4.3.2.2.2 Shaft-like items

Spears, arrows and a few other shaft-like items are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. All such items occurring in my data are presented in table 4.4 and are organized by semantic categories. Note that not all shaft-like items are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. The nouns *ses* ‘punting rod’, *selsel* ‘outrigger cross pole’ and *armaen* ‘outrigger float’, for instance, are assigned to the INANIMATE gender. Nevertheless, the broad semantic category of shaft-like items is appropriate here because, although spears and arrows occupy the categories of hunting and fishing, many other hunting and fishing items, such as *fowor* ‘bow’, *lafar* ‘land trap or snare’, *suke* ‘type of fish net’, *jisin* ‘fish hook’, and *kaling* ‘fishing line’, which are not shaft-like, are assigned to the INANIMATE gender. In the same vein, boats parts which are not shaft-like, such as *inawan* ‘canopy on traditional sailing vessel’, *lar* ‘sail’ and *saliblibir* ‘canopy on modern boat’, are also not assigned to the ANIMATE gender.

Table 4.4: Shaft-like items assigned to the ANIMATE gender

Word	English	Category
<i>dafal</i>	‘bamboo hunting spear’	Hunting
<i>lang</i>	‘arrow made of areca palm’	
<i>ribil</i>	‘arrow with iron head’	
<i>sing</i>	‘arrow made of sago tree leaf’	
<i>butal</i>	‘spear with iron shaft and head’	Warfare
<i>jererer</i>	‘type of long fishing spear’	Fishing
<i>solsolan</i>	‘type of fishing spear’	

<i>fayon</i>	‘long paddle’	Boat parts
<i>fir</i>	‘paddle’	
<i>gulen</i>	‘rudder’	
<i>kei letei</i>	‘cross beam of traditional sailing vessel’	
<i>belo</i>	‘stick used in seaweed harvesting’	Seaweed harvesting
<i>til</i>	‘walking stick’	General life

The following examples in (27a-b) illustrate that *dafal* ‘bamboo hunting spear’ is assigned to the ANIMATE gender. In (27a), *dafal* triggers the use of the ANIMATE demonstrative *nen* ‘MED.SG.ANI’ and the stative verb agreement maker *-un* ‘3SG.ANI.STV’, while in (27b) it triggers the use of the agreement marker *-ei* ‘3PL.ANI’ on the numeral *kau* ‘four’.

- (27) a. *Dafal neno nar-un.*
spear.ko MED.SG.ANI long-3SG.ANI
‘That spear is long.’
- b. *dafal kau-ei*
spear.ko four-3PL.ANI
‘four spears’

The part-whole distinction that applies to vegetation as described above in §4.3.2.1 also applies to spears. The nouns *afur* ‘*solsolan* spear shaft’, *tam* ‘*solsolan* spear prong’, and *gwai* ‘serrated edges of a *tam* prong’ are all assigned to the INANIMATE gender because they are parts of an ANIMATE whole – *solsolan* ‘type of fishing spear’.

4.3.2.2.3 Clothing and grooming items

A few items associated with clothing, jewellery and grooming are assigned to the INANIMATE gender. These nouns, which I have identified in my data, are presented in table 4.5 by semantic category.

Table 4.5: Clothing and grooming items assigned to the ANIMATE gender

Word	English	Semantic Category
<i>ban foro</i>	‘belt’	Clothing
<i>farteng</i>	‘laundry basin’	
<i>kad</i>	‘trousers’	
<i>labun</i>	‘shirt’	
<i>leleam</i>	‘needle’	
<i>kanof</i>	‘button’	
<i>rantei</i>	‘necklace’	Jewellery
<i>tangtangan</i>	‘ring’	

<i>sil</i>	‘comb’	Grooming
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The following examples in (28a-b) illustrate that items of jewellery are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. In (28a), *rantei* ‘necklace’ triggers the use of the numeral agreement marker *-ei* ‘3PL.ANI’. In (28b), *tangtangan* ‘ring’ triggers the use of the ANIMATE demonstrative *nan* ‘PROX.SG.ANI’.

- (28) a. *Rantei dini ru-ei.*
necklace PROX.PL two-3PL.ANI
‘These (are) four necklaces.’ (i.e., ‘There are four of these necklaces.’)
- b. *Nan kanang tangtangan.*
PROX.SG.ANI 1SG.POSS ring
‘This is my ring.’

4.3.2.2.4 Small number of naturally occurring objects, features and seasons

A small number of naturally occurring objects, features and seasons are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. These nouns, which I have identified in my data, are presented in table 4.6 by semantic category. Note that there are three words for ‘sun’: *keijin*, *lara* and *taferlara*. Speakers have told me that *taferlara* is literally a combination of the words *tafer* ‘father’ and *lara* ‘sun’,⁵⁴ and is used as a term of respect in reference to the sun deity of the traditional Batuley belief system. It was also explained that, nowadays, people generally use *taferlara* and *keijin* interchangeably without any intentional reference to the sun deity. The traditional Batuley belief system, as it has been explained to me by one speaker, appears to encompass many deities and supernatural beings.⁵⁵ These beings are believed to reside in and/or possess⁵⁶ natural features, such as the forest or sea, or be natural objects themselves, such as the sun. Perhaps for this reason, certain naturally occurring objects and features are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. This is a highly tentative hypothesis.

⁵⁴ I have been told by informants that *lara* ‘sun’ is rarely used on its own because it is a sign of disrespect to *taferlara*. I have one example of *lara* in the lyrics of a modern song. There are a couple of instances of *lara* in the example sentences of a few entries in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁵⁵ The system may be polytheistic but might very well be henotheistic, as it has been explained to me by one Batuley speaker that there is a belief in one supreme deity in the traditional system. These initial observations require a much more thorough investigation and should therefore be taken as extremely tentative.

⁵⁶ Possession appears to be an important concept in the Batuley traditional belief system. The term *Duei* or *Due* ‘supreme deity’ and *Duid* ‘supreme deities’ etymologically mean ‘owner’ and ‘owners’, respectively.

Table 4.6: Naturally occurring objects, features and seasons assigned to the ANIMATE gender

Word	English	Semantic Category
<i>badel</i>	‘breaker’	Seascape
<i>burom</i>	‘littoral zone’	
<i>jodol</i>	‘type of large rock’	
<i>gwari</i>	‘island’	
<i>mar</i>	‘sea channel’	
<i>tabar</i>	‘rocky seafloor’	
<i>fugar</i>	‘hill’	Landscape
<i>kum</i>	‘stone’	
<i>fulan</i>	‘moon’	Sky
<i>kaljidjidar</i>	‘rainbow’	
<i>keijin</i>	‘sun’	
<i>lara</i>	‘sun’	
<i>taferlara</i>	‘sun’	
<i>taon</i>	‘star’	
<i>afar</i>	‘west wind season’	Seasons
<i>sumor</i>	‘east wind season’	

The following examples in (29a-b) illustrate that two of these nouns are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. In (29a), *kum* triggers the use of the ANIMATE demonstrative *nan* ‘PROX.SG.ANI’. In (29b), *taon* ‘star’ triggers the use of the numeral agreement marker *-un* ‘3SG.ANI’.

- (29) a. *kum nan*
stone PROX.SG.ANI
‘this stone’
- b. *taon et-un*
star one-3SG.ANI
‘one star’

4.3.2.2.5 Musical instruments

All musical instruments in my data are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. I believe *titer* is the only musical instrument in the short list which is native to the Aru region. The other instrument names, especially *gandang* and *bedug*, appear to be (recent) borrowings from Malay.

Table 4.7: Musical instruments assigned to the ANIMATE gender

Word	English
<i>daldal</i>	‘iron drum’
<i>titer</i>	‘traditional Aru drum’
<i>gandang</i>	‘type of drum’
<i>kulele</i>	‘guitar’
<i>bedug</i>	‘type of drum’

The following examples in (30a-b) from a counting stimuli elicitation session illustrate that two of these nouns are assigned to the ANIMATE gender. In each example, the musical instrument triggers the use of the numeral agreement marker *-i* ‘3PL.ANI’.

- (30) a. *titer las-i*
 drum.ko three-3PL.ANI
 ‘three drums’
- b. *gandang las-i*
 drum.ko three-3PL.ANI
 ‘three drums’

4.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Batuley form a closed word class. This section describes the forms (§4.4.1), syntax (§4.4.2), and semantics (§4.4.3) of demonstratives. This section is highly tentative. It is principally the result of one day’s fieldwork and a few follow-up sessions which I conducted thanks to the preliminary notes on demonstratives presented in Pszczolka (2011). Batuley conversations and/or texts need to be analyzed in order to observe the use of demonstratives in context. This should be the focus for future research.

4.4.1 Forms of demonstratives

Demonstratives make a four-way distinction between proximal visible (PROX), medial visible (MED), distal visible (DIST), and non-visible (NVIS). With the non-visible, the referent can be at any physical distance from the deictic centre. The essential feature is that the referent cannot be seen. This is described further in §4.4.3.1. Demonstratives are marked for ANIMACY in the singular but not in the plural. There are long forms (table 4.8) as well as optional shortened forms (table 4.9) for the demonstratives, producing a total of 27 possible forms. Note that all NVIS demonstratives, which are repeated in table 4.9 for convenience, do not actually have shortened forms because they are monosyllabic. The exact rules governing the use of long and shortened forms are yet to be determined, but as a general principle, long forms are used in more deliberately careful speech (see §4.4.3.2). There are two dialectal varieties of the DIST.PL

demonstrative. One variety, *diregen* and its shortened form *dire*, which are truncated forms of the more common *dieregen/diere* variety,⁵⁷ appears to be used exclusively in Kabalsiang, the most northern village of the Batuley region. The forms of this variety are indicated with “[Kab]” in tables 4.8 and 4.9 below.

Table 4.8: Demonstratives – long forms

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
	ANIMATE	INANIMATE	
PROX	<i>nanen</i>	<i>onen</i>	<i>dini</i>
MED	<i>nenon</i>	<i>enon</i>	<i>dinon</i>
DIST	<i>neregen</i>	<i>eregen</i>	<i>dieregen</i> , <i>diregen</i> [Kab]
NVIS	<i>ner</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>dir</i>

Table 4.9: Demonstratives – shortened forms

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
	ANIMATE	INANIMATE	
PROX	<i>nane</i> <i>nan</i>	<i>one</i> <i>on</i>	<i>din</i>
MED	<i>nenon</i> <i>nen</i>	<i>enon</i> <i>en</i>	<i>dino</i>
DIST	<i>nere</i>	<i>ere</i>	<i>diere</i> , <i>dire</i> [Kab]
NVIS	<i>ner</i>	<i>er</i>	<i>dir</i>

4.4.2 Syntax of demonstratives

Demonstratives have adnominal (§4.4.2.1), pronominal (§4.4.2.2) and relativizing (§4.4.2.3) functions.

4.4.2.1 Adnominal use

Adnominally, demonstratives form part of an NP, modifying the preceding N_{HEAD} . Three examples of the adnominal use of demonstratives are given in (31a-c). In each example, the demonstrative modifies the preceding N_{HEAD} . In (31a-b), the demonstratives *ner* ‘NVIS.SG.ANI’ and *er* ‘NVIS.SG.INA’ agree in ANIMACY with their singular head nouns. In contrast, the demonstrative *dino* ‘MED.PL’ in (31c) does not mark for ANIMACY because the N_{HEAD} is expressed with plural reference.

⁵⁷ The most common variety is *dieregen/diere*. I have observed it being used by speakers in Benjuring and Jursiang. Furthermore, I have been told by speakers that this variety is used in all other Batuley villages apart from Kabalsiang. This information should be checked in future research.

- (31) a. *gweingarngar* **ner** *a-etor* *a-lfei* ...
 frog **NVIS.SG.ANI** 3SG.ACT-jump 3SG.ACT-exit
 ‘but the frog [that we cannot see] had jumped out ...’
- b. *kalei* **er** *am~am* *Gwari*
 boat **NVIS.SG.INA** RDP~3SG.ACT:be.at Gwaria
 ‘that boat [that we cannot see] in Gwaria’
- c. *Nor* **dino** *job-ei*.
 coconut **MED.PL** good-3PL.STV
 ‘Those coconuts are good.’

4.4.2.2 Pronominal use

Pronominally, demonstratives replace a pronoun or NP referent. Their use is limited to situations where the referent is understood from the discourse context. Demonstratives can replace the P argument of a clause. In my corpus, this most often occurs in instances where demonstratives stand in for a locational description that would have otherwise occupied the P argument slot, as in (32a-c). In (32a), the demonstrative *enon* ‘MED.SG.INA’ refers to a location that has been established in the context of the telling of a folktale. Interestingly, although the location is not physically visible to the speaker or the listener, the demonstrative is not the ‘NVIS.SG.INA’ *er* but instead the ‘MED.SG.INA’ *enon*. The deictic centre is that of the position of the characters in the folktale being told. This example illustrates that the deictic centre of an utterance is not restricted to the physical location of its interlocutors.

- (32) a. *Eg* *a-tur-en* *dam* *enon* ...
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-with-3SG.ANI.PAT 3PL.ACT:be.at **MED.SG.INA**
 ‘And he lived with her there [in the south of Aru] ...’
- b. *Ya*, *tamata* *ner* *la* *am* *onen*.
 INTERJ person **NVIS.SG.ANI** if 3SG.ACT:be.at **PROX.SG.INA**
 ‘Oh, how I wish that person [who has passed away] were here.’
- c. *Rar* *Dub-ui* *id* *ra* *am* *ere*.
 girl six-3PL.ANI 3PL.POSS speech 3SG.ACT:be.at **DIST.SG.INA**
 ‘The story of the Six Girls is over there [in the old village of Aduar Island].’

In (33), the demonstrative *dir* ‘DIST.PL’ is the head of the NP *dir id ben* ‘their news’, which occupies the P argument slot of the clause. I only have one example of this use of the demonstrative in my corpus.

- (33) *Mu-rengar dir id ben se narat?*
 2SG.ACT-hear **DIST.PL** 3PL.POSS news CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Have you heard any news from them or not?’

A demonstrative may be used pronominally as the subject in equative clauses. For the purpose of discussing non-verbal predicates, I use the term subject and predicate here. Equative clauses are expressed by the presence of two NPs positioned next to each other. One is the subject and the other is the predicate of the equative clause. All equative clauses in my corpus are headed by demonstratives. I do not have examples of equative clauses headed by an NP where the demonstrative forms the predicate. This area is worth future investigation. As for equative clauses headed by demonstratives, the demonstrative agrees with the number and ANIMACY of the NP that it precedes. For example, in (34a), the demonstrative *nan* ‘PROX.SG.ANI’ agrees in number and ANIMACY with its referent noun, *buku* ‘book’. Similarly, in (34b), the demonstrative *on* ‘PROX.SG.INA’ agrees in number and ANIMACY with its referent noun, *lef* ‘house’.

- (34) a. *Nan kanang buku.*
PROX.SG.ANI 1SG.POSS book
 ‘This is my book.’
 b. *On kanang lef.*
PROX.SG.INA 1SG.POSS house
 ‘This is my house.’

Note again that no ANIMACY distinction is made for nouns with plural reference. In both (35a-b), the demonstrative is *dini* ‘PROX.PL’ even though the nouns they refer to, *buku* ‘book’ and *lef* ‘house’, differ in ANIMACY, as we saw in the discussion above concerning (34a-b).

- (35) a. *Dini kanang buku je.*
PROX.PL 1SG.POSS book PL
 ‘These are my books.’
 b. *Dini kanang lef je.*
PROX.PL 1SG.POSS book PL
 ‘These are my houses.’

(36) is provided to further illustrate equative clauses headed by demonstratives. Here, *on* ‘PROX.SG.INA’ occupies the subject slot, preceding the equative clause *cara maelel lef* ‘how we made a house’, which is headed by the INANIMATE noun *cara*, a borrowing from Malay.

- (36) *on* *cara ma-el~el* *lef*
PROX.SG.INA way 1PL.EXCL.ACT-RDP~do house
‘this is how we made a house’

4.4.2.3 Relativizing use

Demonstratives have a relativizing function. They may be used in relative clause constructions to introduce the relative clause (see §4.8.2), as in (37a-b). I have very few examples of this from my own data. Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) have more examples. The following are from elicited sentences from my own data. In (37a), the demonstrative *ner* ‘NVIS.SG.ANI’ introduces the relative clause *ner agargar gogobu dinon* ‘that bit those children’. Similarly, the demonstrative *nen* ‘MED.SG.ANI’ in (37b) introduces the relative clause *nen nam ken gogobu je dartutuir* ‘that bathed her children’. In (37c), the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’ introduces the relative clause *en maelel* ‘that we built’ and is followed by the demonstrative *enon* ‘MED.SG.INA’, which modifies the entire NP. In comparing (37a-c), note that demonstratives with relativizing functions agree in number and gender with N_{HEAD} they modify.

- (37) a. *Tara* [*ner* *a-gar~gar* *gogobu dinon*]_{RC} *a-oi* *ti*.
dog NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-RDP~bite child MED.PL 3SG.ACT-die PFV
‘The dog that bit those children has died.’
- b. *Kodar* [*nen* *nam* *ken* *gogobu je*
female MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:cause/do 3SG.POSS child PL
da-r-tu<tu>ir]_{RC} *nam-ban* *Gwatle*
3PL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>wash 3SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC Batuley
‘The woman that bathed her children is from Batuley village.’
- c. *lef* [*en* *ma-el~el*]_{RC} *enon*
house MED.SG.INA 1PL.EXCL.ACT-RDP~do MED.SG.INA
‘that house that we built’

4.4.3 Semantics of demonstratives

4.4.3.1 Distance and visibility

As noted at the beginning of this section, the analysis put forth here is mainly the result of one day’s fieldwork and a few follow-up sessions. As such, the findings are highly tentative and should be investigated further. During the sessions, it was found that Batuley demonstratives make a four-way distinction between proximal visible (PROX), medial visible (MED), distal visible (DIST), and non-visible (NVIS). This was determined using props in a room and by discussing hypothetical situations with a speaker. Although crude, these findings provide some initial indications of how the demonstrative system is organized.

The deictic centre is either the speaker, the interlocutor or, as we saw in the discussion concerning (32a) above, some other point, such as that of a character in a story or someone far

away, onto whom the speaker projects the deictic centre. In this sense, the deictic centre is not grounded to the physical location of the interlocutors. The PROX, MED, and DIST are used for entities which are visible from the deictic centre. With the NVIS, the referent can be at any physical distance from the deictic centre. The essential feature is that the referent cannot be seen.

Figure 4.2 below illustrates a situation during one of the elicitation sessions. The deictic centre (in this case, the speaker) is represented by an 'X'. At the time, the speaker and I were situated in the upper room of a house and were sitting next to each other. Three notebooks were placed in front of the speaker as props and the speaker was asked to identify the props using demonstratives. For the notebook closest to the speaker, the PROX demonstrative was used. The next closest was marked with the MED demonstrative, and the farthest away was marked with the DIST demonstrative. During the session, the speaker was also asked to identify through the use of a demonstrative a person who was in the house but who could not be seen. The NVIS demonstrative was used in this case, as seen in figure 4.2.

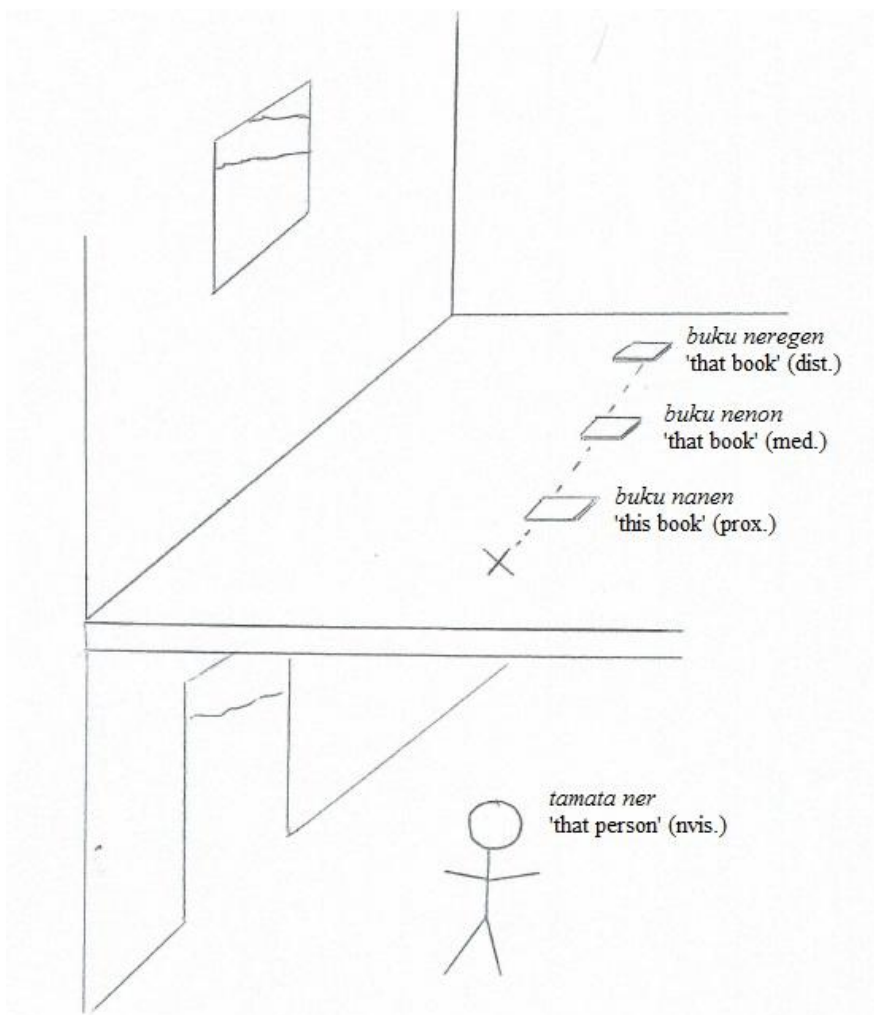


Figure 4.2: Demonstratives used for pointing out entities in a house

From this discussion and by running through hypothetical situations, it was found that the same demonstratives could be used for different planes of distance – that is, they could be used for distinguishing entities in areas larger than simply that of the interior of a house. The DIST demonstrative could be used for identifying a canoe far out at sea but that was still in view, for instance. The NVIS demonstrative could be used for talking about someone in another village or country or who had already passed away.

These findings provide a starting point for further investigation. The use of demonstratives in discourse reference, as well as the use of demonstratives by a speaker in relation to the position of objects near or far from the addressee, are particularly rich fields to explore.

4.4.3.2 Long forms versus shortened forms

As mentioned above in §4.4.1, the long forms of the demonstratives appear to be used in more deliberately careful speech. All NVIS demonstratives do not have shortened forms because they are monosyllables. A frequency count from my corpus shows that the shortened forms occur 81% (397/491) of the time where PROX, MED, and DIST demonstratives are used, while the long forms occur only 19% (94/491) of the time.

It is possible to use the long and shortened forms together in an utterance in order to distinguish entities which are equidistant from the deictic centre. This is a discourse function used to track different referents. The context of (38a) is that of a speaker pointing out people all seated in chairs at an equal distance from the speaker and listener. The three different forms of the ‘MED.SG.ANI’ (*nenon*, *nen* and *nen*) are employed in order to distinguish the referents. During the session which elicited (38a), the speaker explained that various orderings of the long and shortened demonstratives could be used in place of utterance (38a). For example, (38b-c) were also equally acceptable to the speaker.

(38) a. *Tamata nenon, tamata neno fei tamata nen.*
 person MED.SG.ANI person MED.SG.ANI CONJ person MED.SG.ANI
 ‘That person, that person and that person.’

b. *Tamata neno, tamata nen fei tamata nenon.*
 person MED.SG.ANI person MED.SG.ANI CONJ person MED.SG.ANI
 ‘That person, that person and that person.’

c. *Tamata nen, tamata neno fei tamata nenon.*
 person MED.SG.ANI person MED.SG.ANI CONJ person MED.SG.ANI
 ‘That person, that person and that person.’

(38a-c) show demonstratives appearing in adnominal constructions, but the use of long and shortened forms for this discourse function is probably not limited to adnominal constructions. More detailed investigation is required to determine the nuances behind the use of long and shortened demonstratives in examples, preferably from non-elicited, natural speech.

4.5 Quantifiers

Batuley has numerals (§4.5.1) and a small group of non-numeral quantifiers (§4.5.2).

4.5.1 Numerals

Numerals form their own word class and have a distinctive suffixation system (see §4.5.1.2). Numerals follow the N_{HEAD} they modify in an NP. In (39a), the numeral *kauei* ‘four-3PL.ANI’ modifies the N_{HEAD} *tamata* ‘person’ in the NP *tamata kauei dino* ‘those four people’. Numerals can also function as the predicate of a clause. In (39b), the numeral *kauei* ‘four-3PL.ANI’ is acting predicatively. Numerals can also stand on their own in an NP when the N_{HEAD} is elided, as in (39c).

- (39) a. *Tamata kau-ei dino da-r-tabrer.*
 person **four-3PL.ANI** MED.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-stand
 ‘Those four people are standing.’
- b. *Id kau-ei.*
 3PL **four-3PL.ANI**
 ‘They (are) four.’ (i.e., ‘There are four of them.’)
- c. [Ø **Kau-ei**]_{NP} *idafon da-ban Dom.*
 four-3PL.ANI yesterday 3PL.ACT-go Dobo
 ‘Yesterday, the four (men) went to Dobo.’

This section discusses the forms of numerals and how to build higher numerals (§4.5.1.1), suffixation on numerals (§4.5.1.2), reduplication of numerals in the formation of ordinals (§4.5.1.3), and the status of *gwair* as a classifier (§4.5.1.4).

4.5.1.1 Forms and building higher numerals

Table 4.10 presents a selection of Batuley numerals. Batuley has a base-10 numeral system with complex numerals for ‘seven’ and ‘eight’ and irregular forms for ‘ten’, ‘twenty’ and ‘thirty’.

Table 4.10: Numerals

1	<i>et</i>
2	<i>ru</i>
3	<i>laes</i>
4	<i>kau</i>
5	<i>lim</i>
6	<i>dum</i>
7	<i>dubam</i>

8	<i>karu</i>
9	<i>ser</i>
10	<i>urfaef</i>
11	<i>urfaef eng et</i>
12	<i>urfaef eng ru</i>
13	<i>urfaef eng laes</i>
14	<i>urfaef eng kau</i>
15	<i>urfaef eng lim</i>
16	<i>urfaef eng dum</i>
17	<i>urfaef eng dubam</i>
18	<i>urfaef eng karu</i>
19	<i>urfaef eng ser</i>
20	<i>urufu / urupu</i>
21	<i>urufu eng et / urupu eng et</i>
30	<i>uruplaes</i>
40	<i>urkau</i>
50	<i>urlim</i>
60	<i>urdum</i>
70	<i>urdubam</i>
80	<i>urkaru</i>
90	<i>urser</i>
100	<i>rat / rati</i>
200	<i>rat ru</i>
1000	<i>rifun / rifuni</i>

Schapper & Hammarström explain that the numeral ‘seven’ in the Aru languages is a historically complex numeral because the numeral ‘six’ in Proto-Aru appears to have been compounded with a morpheme denoting ‘plus 1’ in order to form ‘seven’ (2013: 431-432). In Batuley, the relationship between ‘seven’ *dubam* and ‘six’ *dum* is evident in their forms, and there are cognates of ‘seven’ *dubam* in other Aru languages. Schapper & Hammarström also point out that the numeral ‘eight’ in the Aru languages is a multiplicative numeral (2013: 431). Batuley is no exception, where the numerals ‘four’ *kau* and ‘two’ *ru* can be seen as composing the form for ‘eight’ *karu*.

The numerals ‘ten’ *urfaef*, ‘twenty’ *urufu* or *urupu*, and ‘thirty’ *uruplaes* are irregular multiples of 10. The numeral twenty can be either *urufu* or *urupu* depending on the speaker. Multiples of 10 from ‘forty’ to ‘ninety’ are regular. They are formed from the morpheme *ur*, denoting ‘multiple of 10’, compounded with the numerals ‘four’ to ‘nine’, respectively.

The numerals 100 and 1000 both have two forms. The forms *rati* and *rifuni* mean ‘one hundred’ and ‘one thousand’, respectively. They appear to have been formed through the compounding of *rat* and *rifun* with the indefinite *i* (§4.6), and are now fully fossilized forms. The forms *rat* and *rifun* are used to build numerals higher than 100 and 1000 that are multiples of 100 and 1000. (40a-d) illustrate that these multiples are formed through juxtaposition.

- (40) a. *rat* *laes*
 hundred three
 ‘three hundred’
- b. *rat* *karu*
 hundred eight
 ‘eight hundred’
- c. *rifun* *dubam*
 thousand seven
 ‘seven thousand’
- d. *rifun* *ser*
 thousand nine
 ‘nine thousand’

From table 4.10, we see that Batuley uses of the numeral augmenter *eng* ‘AUG’ to form complex numerals, as in (41a-d). See §6.2.2.9 for other functions of *eng*.

- (41) a. *urfaef* ***eng*** *kau*
 ten AUG four
 ‘fourteen’
- b. *rati* ***eng*** *urdum* ***eng*** *dubam*
 one.hundred AUG sixty AUG seven
 ‘one hundred and sixty-seven’
- c. *rat* *ser* ***eng*** *urser* ***eng*** *ser*
 hundred nine AUG ninety AUG nine
 ‘nine hundred and ninety-nine’
- d. *rifun* *ru* ***eng*** *rat* *ru* ***eng*** *urufu* ***eng*** *ru*
 thousand two AUG hundred two AUG twenty AUG two
 ‘two thousand two hundred and twenty-two’

4.5.1.2 Suffixation on numerals

4.5.1.2.1 Person-number of numerals

Table 4.11 presents the suffixes that occur on numerals. Note that 1SG and 2SG suffixation for numerals is impossible. There are three forms of the 3PL.ANI suffix. They are decided lexically by the numeral. Table 4.12 presents which numerals occur with each of the 3PL.ANI suffixes. Refer to §2.7.2.2 for a discussion of the morphophonology of suffixation on numerals and §2.7.4.2 for a discussion of numeral suffixing roots.

Table 4.11: Suffixes that occur on numerals

3SG.ANI	<i>-un</i>
1PL.INCL.ANI	<i>-sit</i>
1PL.EXCL.ANI	<i>-kom</i>
2PL.ANI	<i>-kem</i>
3PL.ANI	<i>-i</i> <i>-ei</i> <i>-ui</i>

Table 4.12: 3PL.ANI suffixes by numeral

<i>-i</i>	<i>-ei</i>	<i>-ui</i>
<i>las-</i> ‘three’	<i>ru-</i> ‘two’ <i>kau-</i> ‘four’ <i>lim-</i> ‘five’ <i>karu-</i> ‘eight’ <i>ser-</i> ‘nine’	<i>dub-</i> ‘six’ <i>dubam-</i> ‘seven’

Unaffixed numerals are used when the N_{HEAD} is INANIMATE, as in (42a-c).

- (42) a. *nor fui dum*
coconut fruit six
‘six coconuts’

- b. *nor fui urfaef eng ru*
coconut fruit ten AUG two
‘twelve coconuts’

- c. *kalei urufu eng laes*
canoe twenty AUG three
‘twenty-three canoes’

If the N_{HEAD} is ANIMATE, then the numeral takes suffixation according to the person and number of the N_{HEAD} , as in examples (43a-c). Note that only the final numeral in a numeral compound is marked with a suffix, as in (43b-c).

- (43) a. *tara dub-ui*
 dog six-3PL.ANI
 ‘six dogs’
- b. *tamata urfaef eng ru-ei*
 person ten AUG two-3PL.ANI
 ‘twelve people’
- c. *tamata urufu eng las-i*
 person twenty AUG three-3PL.ANI
 ‘twenty-three people’

(44a-c) illustrate that multiples of 10 are not marked with a suffix, even if the N_{HEAD} is ANIMATE.

- (44) a. *fuis urfaef*
 cat ten
 ‘ten cats’
- b. *tamata urkau*
 person forty
 ‘forty people’
- c. *tamata rati*
 person one.hundred
 ‘one hundred people’

4.5.1.2.2 Numerals as stative verbs?

It may be possible to analyze numerals as a sub-set of stative verbs for the following reasons: i) numerals can take suffixes that are identical in form to some of the agreement suffixes that occur with stative verbs; ii) numerals can function as the predicate of a clause. However as we shall see in the following discussion, numeral suffixation is distinct from stative verb suffixation in that its main function is to mark ANIMACY.

The similarity in form between suffixes that occur on numerals and the agreement suffixes that occur on stative verbs is evident; see the agreement suffixes that occur on stative verbs in table 3.1 in §3.4.1. The 3SG.ANI *-un* is identical to the Set IIa 3SG.ANI agreement suffix on stative verbs. The 1PL.INCL, 1PL.EXCL and 2PL numeral suffixes are, likewise, identical to their stative

verb agreement suffix counterparts. In addition, the 3PL.ANI numeral suffixes also correspond to Set I, II and III 3PL agreement suffixes on stative verbs. Furthermore, numerals can function as the predicate of a clause, as illustrated above in (39b) and below in (45a-c).

- (45) a. *Kaem ru-kem.*
 2PL two-2PL.ANI
 ‘You (are) two.’ (i.e., ‘There are two of you.’)
- b. *Id dubam-ui.*
 3PL seven-3PL.ANI
 ‘They (are) seven.’ (i.e., ‘There are seven of them.’)
- c. *Kau-sit.*
 four-1PL.INCL.ANI
 ‘We (are) four.’ (i.e., ‘There are four of us.’)

However, one characteristic of numerals sets them apart from stative verbs. For numerals, the main function of suffixation is to mark ANIMACY. Both numerals and stative verbs make a distinction between 3SG ANIMATE and INANIMATE nouns. For both numerals and stative verbs, 3SG.INA nouns do not take agreement suffixation while 3SG.ANI nouns do. For stative verbs, all 3PL nouns require agreement suffixation, regardless of their ANIMACY (see §3.4.4). In contrast, only 3PL.ANI nouns require suffixation on numerals. Compare (46a-b) to (46c-d).

- (46) INANIMATE plural:
- | | |
|---|---|
| a. <i>kalei ru</i>
canoe two
‘two canoes’ | b. <i>nor fui ru</i>
coconut fruit two
‘two coconuts’ |
|---|---|
- ANIMATE plural:
- | | |
|---|--|
| c. <i>tara ru-ei</i>
dog two-3PL.ANI
‘two dogs’ | d. <i>tamata ru-ei</i>
person two-3PL.ANI
‘two people’ |
|---|--|

Plurality/singularity is not relevant for numerals. Although suffixes on stative verbs always agree with their N_{HEAD} in number, the numeral *et* ‘one’ can only take the 3SG.ANI agreement suffix, even when appearing in a numeral compound where the noun it agrees with is plural. In (47a-c), the numeral *et* lexically carries the agreement suffix for the 3SG.ANI even though the noun the numeral compound modifies in each case is with plural reference. This phenomenon is the result of the numeral suffixes having fossilized over time and/or the impossibility of having a plural numeral agreement suffix with the numeral *et* ‘one’. This later point is understandable because, by itself, *et* ‘one’ conveys singularity.

- (47) a. *tamata urfaef eng et-un*
 person ten AUG one-3SG.ANI
 ‘eleven people’
- b. *fuis urfaef eng et-un*
 cat ten AUG one-3SG.ANI
 ‘eleven cats’
- c. *tara urufu eng et-un*
 dog twenty AUG one-3SG.ANI
 ‘twenty-one people’

Numerals behave much like stative verbs and may be analyzed as a special sub-set of stative verbs. However, as we have seen above, their suffixation system is slightly different from that of stative verbs in that their principle function is to mark ANIMACY. For this reason, I have chosen to treat the suffixes that occur on numerals as distinct from agreement suffixes on stative verbs and to gloss them differently.

4.5.1.3 Reduplication of numerals (ordinals)

Reduplicated numerals form ordinals. Table 4.13 presents a small selection of ordinal numerals. During fieldwork, it was difficult to elicit Batuley ordinals. It appears as if speakers more readily employ Indonesian/Malay ordinals in natural speech perhaps because ordinal numerals are so rarely used in general. This preliminary observation is an indication that ordinals are losing ground in Batuley. Further investigation is required.

Table 4.13: Reduplication of numerals (ordinals)

first	<i>et~et</i>
second	<i>ru~ru</i>
third	<i>le~laes</i>
fourth	<i>ka~kau</i>
fifth	<i>lim~lim</i>
sixth	<i>dum~dum</i>
seventh	<i>du<bam>bam</i>
eight	<i>ka<ru>ru</i>
ninth	<i>ser~ser</i>
tenth	<i>ur<fe>faef</i>

Reduplicated numerals take suffixation when the N_{HEAD} is ANIMATE, as in (48a-b). In addition, only the final numeral in the numeral compound takes an agreement suffix and is reduplicated, as

in (48b). Furthermore, as with regular numerals, multiples of 10 do not take suffixation even if the N_{HEAD} is ANIMATE, as in (48c).

- (48) a. *tamata ru~ru-ei*
 person RDP~two-3PL.ANI
 ‘the second person’
- b. *tamata urfaef eng ka~kau-ei*
 person ten AUG RDP~four-3PL.ANI
 ‘the fourteenth person’
- c. *tamata ur<fe>faef*
 person <RDP>ten
 ‘the tenth person’

Batuley ordinals are rarely used, but they are employed in the context of describing the order of people in a family. Although (49a) is an acceptable and attested way of expressing ‘the first person [in a family]’ (i.e., the eldest child), (49b), which is actually a stative verb attributive construction⁵⁸ (see §4.8.1.2), is the preferred way of expressing this concept.

- (49) a. *tamata et~et-un*
 person RDP~one-3SG.ANI
 ‘the first person [in a family]’
- b. *tamata mon~mon-en*
 person RDP~front-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘the first person [in a family]’

4.5.1.4 The classifier *gwair*

Batuley does not appear to have numeral classifiers, but it does have sortal classifier nouns (see §4.9.4.2 on the semantics of possessive compounds). In addition, there is one classifier that resembles a numeral classifier: *gwair*. The exact status of *gwair* is unclear. It does not seem to have any meaning on its own. It is INANIMATE. It is non-obligatory and does not appear to be employed frequently by speakers. It occurs with *lef* ‘house’, *gwalar* ‘shelter’, *fanu* ‘village’, all types of boats, as well as the Indonesian/Malay borrowing *mobil* ‘car’. (50a-d) present the only examples of its use in my corpus, which were all taken from elicited contexts.

⁵⁸ Note that *mon* is also a noun.

- (50) a. *lef gwair laes*
 house CLF three
 ‘three houses’
- b. *fanu gwair laes*
 village CLF three
 ‘three villages’
- c. *bog gwair laes*
 canoe CLF three
 ‘three canoes’
- d. *kalei gwair laes*
 boat CLF three
 ‘three boats’

4.5.2 Other quantifiers

The quantifier *tarai* ‘some’ functions as the modifier of a N_{HEAD} within an NP. The following examples in (51a-c) illustrate this.

- (51) a. *fug~fugar tarai*
 RDP~hill some
 ‘some hills’
- b. *tafon tarai*
 bee some
 ‘some bees’
- c. *kafuag tabar tarai*
 bean seed some
 ‘some beans’

I do not have any instances in my corpus of *tarai* functioning predicatively, as do numerals (see §4.5.1). However, I do have a few examples showing that *tarai*, like numerals, can stand on its own in an NP when the N_{HEAD} is elided. This is illustrated in (52a-b). Note that *tarai* undergoes vowel dissimilation to *tarei* in these examples.

- (52) a. *Tarei anei ja da-fei ngaran kum dinon dag*
some HAB SEQ 3PL.ACT-say name stone MED.PL 3PL.ACT:want/say
“kum~kum kali”.
 RDP~stone river
 ‘Some (people) sometimes call those rocks “river rocks”.’
- b. *Tarei dam-ban fin i ja tarei dam-ban*
some 3PL.ACT:cause/do-SRC side/part INDEF CONJ **some** 3PL.ACT:cause/do-SRC
fin i.
 side/part INDEF
 ‘Some (people) come from one side and some (people) come from another side.’

Pszczolka (n.d.-a) notes the existence of *kofarla* ‘many’. Unfortunately, there are no clear examples of its use and it does not occur in my own data. Note that Batuley often makes use of verbs, such as the stative verb *lofes* ‘many’ and the active verb *frang* ‘all’, to express quantity.

4.6 Indefinite *i*

The indefinite *i*⁵⁹ is similar to numerals in that it can agree with its N_{HEAD}. The ANIMATE form of the indefinite contains the suffix *-en*, which is a 3SG.ANI suffix identical in form to the 3SG.ANI stative verb Set III agreement suffix (see table 3.1 in §3.4.1). The indefinite has a similar word class status as numerals. It can be adnominal and pronominal. Adnominally, it modifies the N_{HEAD}, as part of an NP, as illustrated in (53a-d).

- (53) a. *gwardok i ken abel*
 depression INDEF 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘in a depression in the ground’
- b. *kuf nono i ...*
 1SG.ACT:carry message INDEF
 ‘I am carrying a message ...’
- c. *Da-it gweingarngar i-en ...*
 3PL.ACT-see frog INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘They saw a frog ...’

⁵⁹ It appears that the indefinite *i*, which has cognates in other Aru languages, was historically the numeral ‘one’ and has been replaced by the numeral *et* [see Schapper (2015:71-72) for this point in relation to Ujir].

- d. *karta* *i-en* *a-etor* ...
 small.rodent INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump
 ‘a small rodent jumped ...’

Pronominally, the indefinite can occupy the A argument slot, as in (54a). In (54b), the second occurrence of *ien* functions pronominally, filling the P argument slot. In (54c), the second occurrence of *ien* also functions pronominally, filling the R argument slot in an oblique construction.

- (54) a. ***I-en*** *a-r-tabrer* ...
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand
 ‘One (person) is standing ...’
- b. *I-en* *a-tubag* ***i-en*** ...
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-punch INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘One (person) punches another ...’
- c. *I-en* *a-nor* *apel fui* *a-g* ***i-en*** ...
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-stretch.out apple fruit 3SG.ACT-GOAL INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘One (person) has given an apple to another ...’

4.7 Plural marker *je*

Batuley has one nominal plural marker: *je*. As seen in figure 4.1 in §4.2.2 on the NP template, *je* appears post-nominally and cannot co-occur with the indefinite *i* which has singular reference. Unlike attributes, quantifiers, demonstratives and the indefinite *i* (see §4.6), the plural marker *je* cannot act pronominally if the N_{HEAD} is elided. The following examples in (55a-c) illustrate the plural marker *je* occurring post-nominally.

- (55) a. *lef* *je*
 house PL
 ‘houses’
- b. *siram* *je*
 axe PL
 ‘axes’
- c. *gogobu* *je*
 child PL
 ‘children’

Je is not obligatory if plural reference can be understood from the context. The following examples in (56a-b) illustrate this point. Both examples are acceptable sentences. The absence of *je* in (56b) does not hinder comprehension because the context (that of people and their individual pairs of eyes) and the plural possessive suffix *-en* ‘PL.POSS’ suffix on *mat-* ‘eye’ are enough to indicate that there is more than one eye being spoken about.

(56) a. *Id da-labar mat-en je.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT-widen eye-3PL.POSS PL
 ‘They opened their eyes.’

b. *Id da-labar mat-en.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT-widen eye-3PL.POSS
 ‘They opened their eyes.’

There is one morpheme, *e*, which may be analyzed as an associative plural marker. It occurs only once in my corpus. I choose to analyze it as a conjoiner. Refer to §4.10 on conjoining NPs for a discussion of *e*.

4.8 Attributes and relative clauses

As seen in figure 4.1 of §4.2.2 on the NP template, the N_{HEAD} can be modified by an attribute and a relative clause. Attributes (§4.8.1) and relative clauses (§4.8.2) are formed through reduplication and create a dependency relation in which they are dependents of the preceding N_{HEAD} . They are found to the right of the N_{HEAD} they modify.

4.8.1 Attributes

A reduplicated active verb (§4.8.1.1), stative verb (§4.8.1.2), noun (§4.8.1.3) or numeral (§4.8.1.4) can modify a N_{HEAD} in an attributive dependency relation.

4.8.1.1 Active verb attributive constructions

In each of the following examples (57a-d), a reduplicated active verb modifies the N_{HEAD} it follows in an attributive construction. Person-number marking prefixes are present on the active verbs in all examples except for that of (57b). I have very few examples of reduplicated active verbs functioning attributively in my own data. Examples (57a-b) are from my own data. Note that in (57b), no person-number marking prefix is present on the active verb. Examples (57c-d) are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011).

(57) a. *kei da~da*
 wood/tree RDP~3PL.ACT-burn
 ‘firewood’

b. *kabal ni~ni*
 ship RDP~fly
 ‘airplane’

c. *tamata da-num~num*
 person 3PL.ACT-RDP~dive
 ‘divers’

(Pszczolka n.d.-a)

d. *tamata da-oi~oi*
 person 3PL.ACT-RDP~die
 ‘dead people’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:5)

4.8.1.2 Stative verb attributive constructions

In each of the following examples (58a-d), a reduplicated stative verb modifies the N_{HEAD} it follows in an attributive construction. As elsewhere in the language, a distinction is made between ANIMATE and INANIMATE head nouns in the 3SG with regard to agreement. Reduplicated stative verbs agree in person and number with 3SG.ANI head nouns, as with (58a-b), while reduplicated stative verbs do not agree in person and number with 3SG.INA head nouns, as with (58c-d).

(58) a. *keiran mon~mon-en*⁶⁰
 sister RDP~front-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘oldest sister’

b. *fulan kei<kui>kui-in et-un*
 month <RDP>whole-3SG.ANI.STV one-3SG.ANI
 ‘one whole month’

c. *lef jin~jin*
 house RDP~big
 ‘big house’

d. *bangku nar~nar*
 bench RDP~long
 ‘long bench’

4.8.1.3 Nominal attributive constructions

The second noun in a left-headed NP may be reduplicated in order to modify the N_{HEAD} in an attributive dependency relation. These constructions create a relation where ‘X (the N_{HEAD}) has a

⁶⁰ *Mon* is also a noun.

property of Y (the attributive N)’. I have only one example of a nominal attributive construction from my own data, (59a). Examples (59b-c) are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011).

(59) a. *bal tan~tan*
ground RDP~soil
‘clay’

b. *gogobu⁶¹ si<kol>kol*
child <RDP>school
‘school children’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

c. *lur nga<mei>mai*
oil <RDP>fragrance
‘fragrant oil’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:1)

4.8.1.4 Numeral attributive constructions

Reduplicated numerals function attributively in forming ordinals. Refer to §4.5.1.3 for a discussion of reduplicated numerals.

4.8.2 Relative clauses

This section is highly tentative. Several examples are from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) as well as a short elicitation session on relative clause constructions which I based on sentences presented in Hughes’ (2000: 174-178) discussion of reduplication in Dobel relative clauses.

4.8.2.1 Stative verb relative clauses?

A reduplicated active verb or stative verb can modify a N_{HEAD} in a relative clause dependency relation. Stative verb relative clauses are extremely rare in my corpus. They occur with the Indonesian/Malay relativizer *yang*. As such, I tentatively attribute the presence of these relative clause constructions to interference from Indonesian/Malay. Without the *yang* or any other relativizer, such constructions would be indistinguishable from attributive constructions. In (60), the relative clause *yang aesaisin* ‘that is tall’ begins with the Indonesian/Malay relativizer *yang*. Note that the reduplicated stative verb agrees in person and number with the N_{HEAD} *ien* ‘one [hill]’.

(60) *i-en [yang aes~ais-in]_{RC}⁶²*
INDEF-3SG.ANI REL RDP~3SG/PL:tall-3SG.ANI.STV
‘one [i.e., hill] that is tall’

⁶¹ Originally *gogobu* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁶² I am uncertain of the phonological behaviour of the reduplication pattern in this example, which differs from the reduplication patterns described in §2.8.

4.8.2.2 Properties of relative clauses

In each of the following examples (61a-d), a reduplicated active verb modifies the N_{HEAD} it follows in a relative clause construction. A relative clause can be introduced by a relativizing demonstrative. In (61b), the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’ introduces the relative clause *en maelel* ‘that we built’ and is followed by the demonstrative *enon* ‘MED.SG.INA’, which modifies the entire NP headed by *lef* ‘house’. Similarly in (61c), the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’ introduces the relative clause *en ageigai* ‘that he ate’ and is followed by the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’, which modifies the entire NP headed by *nor* ‘coconut’. Refer to §4.4.2.3 for more on the relativizing function of demonstratives. In some instances in my corpus, the Indonesian/Malay relativizer *yang* occurs instead of a relativizing demonstrative in relative clause constructions, as in (60) above and (61d) below.

- (61) a. *ken lef [am~am Timika]_{RC}*
 3SG.POSS house RDP~3SG.ACT:be.at Timika
 ‘her house that is in Timika’
- b. *lef [en ma-el~el]_{RC} enon*
 house MED.SG.INA 1PL.EXCL.ACT-RDP~do MED.SG.INA
 ‘that house that we built’
- c. *nor [en a-gei~gai]_{RC} en*
 coconut MED.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-RDP~eat MED.SG.INA
 ‘that coconut that he ate’
- d. *nan [yang a-bas~bas buku]_{RC}*
 PROX.SG.ANI REL 3SG.ACT-RDP~read book
 ‘this one (person) who is reading a book’

If more than one inflectional element (i.e., verb or preposition) is present in a relative clause, only the last element is reduplicated. In (62a), only the verb *ban* ‘go’ is reduplicated because it is the final verb in the relative clause *ner alai abanban* ‘who ran away’. Similarly in (62b) from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), *dam* ‘3PL.ACT:be.at’ is reduplicated because it is the final inflectional element in the relative clause *dafrang damdam onen* ‘that are all here’. In (62c), which is also from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), the third verb in the relative clause is reduplicated.

- (62) a. *Tamata [ner a-lai a-ban~ban]_{RC} a-muil ti.*
 person NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.ACT-RDP~go 3SG.ACT-return PFV
 ‘The person who ran away has returned.’

- b. *tabol* [da-frang ¹ *dam~dam* ² *onen*]_{RC}
 animal 3PL.ACT-all RDP~3PL.ACT:be.at PROX.SG.INA
 ‘the animals that are all here’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 3:1)

- c. *Raj*, [Duid a-tit-in ¹ *a-mai* ² *a-f<ren>renta* ³
 king God 3SG.ACT-command-3SG.ANI.PAT 3SG.ACT-come 3SG.ACT-<RDP>instruct
dun onen]_{RC}
 world PROX.SG.INA
 ‘the king that God commanded to come and rule this world’
 (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:46)

4.8.2.3 NP accessibility hierarchy

It appears that Batuley can relativize only a few grammatical positions on the NP accessibility hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977). In this sub-section, I use the terms subject and object because they are commonly used in discussions concerning the NP accessibility hierarchy. The following preliminary discussion and elicited example sentences (63-66) are based on Hughes (2000: 174-178) and serve merely as a starting point for further investigation.

Subject of an intransitive verb relativized:

The subject of an intransitive verb can be relativized. In (63), which is copied from (62a), the relativized noun *tamata* ‘person’ is the subject of an intransitive verb in the relative clause *ner alai abanban* ‘who ran away’.

- (63) *Tamata* [*ner a-lai a-ban~ban*]_{RC}, *a-muil ti*.
 person NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.ACT-RDP~go 3SG.ACT-return PFV
 ‘The person who ran away has returned.’

Subject of a transitive verb relativized:

The subject of a transitive verb can be relativized. In (64), the relativized noun *tara* ‘dog’ is the subject of a transitive verb in the relative clause *ner agargar gogobu dinon* ‘that bit those children’.

- (64) *Tara* [*ner a-gar~gar gogobu dinon*]_{RC}, *a-oi ti*.
 dog NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-RDP~bite child MED.PL 3SG.ACT-die PFV
 ‘The dog that bit those children has died.’

Object of a transitive verb relativized:

The object of a transitive verb can be relativized. In (65), the relativized noun *motor* ‘motorboat’ is the object of a transitive verb in the relative clause *en aelal* ‘that he is making’.

- (65) *Motor* [en a-el~el]_{RC} enon gwei liwan.
 motorboat MED.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-RDP~do MED.SG.INA very strong
 ‘That boat that he is making is very strong.’

Locative object of a transitive verb relativized:

The locative object of a transitive verb can be relativized. As with Dobel (Hughes 2000: 176-177), clauses with goals can be treated as transitive verbs. In (66), the locative preposition is absent and the relativized noun *kader* ‘chair’ is treated as the object of a transitive verb in the relative clause *en mutatatar* ‘that you are sitting on’ instead of the object of an oblique prepositional phrase. See §5.4 for more on this topic.

- (66) *Kader* [en mu-tal~talar]_{RC} enon ja a-ig.
 chair MED.SG.INA 2SG.ACT-RDP~sit MED.SG.INA old 3SG.ACT-INTS
 ‘That chair that you are sitting on is very old.’

4.9 Possession

Possession is a property of nouns. Nouns are either inalienable (§4.9.1) or alienable (§4.9.2) in terms of their possessive classification. Nouns can be possessed regardless of their alienability. The possessive classification system is labile in that some nouns can be either alienably or inalienably possessed or both (§4.9.3). This section concludes with a discussion of the syntax and semantics of possessive compounds (§4.9.4). This section is the result of a few preliminary fieldwork elicitation sessions, which I conducted using the notes on possession presented in Pszczolka (2011). As such, the findings remain tentative and serve to consolidate my hypotheses about the possessive system and highlight areas for future investigation.

4.9.1 Inalienable possession

Batuley has preposed possessors for inalienably possessed nouns. Inalienably possessed nouns mark possession directing on the noun through suffixation or with a change in root vowel (ablaut). In (67), the possessor *Jonias* ‘Jonias’ preposes the possessed noun *gwal* ‘younger sibling’. The <e> infix ‘3SG.POSS’ agrees with the possessor and is the direct marking of possession on the inalienably possessed noun in this example.

- (67) *Jonias* gwa<e>l
 NAME younger.sibling<3SG.POSS>
 ‘Jonias’ younger sibling’

Batuley does not have an extensive suffixation system for marking inalienable possession. For instance, there is no distinction made in suffixation for marking different plural persons; only a general PL.POSS suffix exists, and even so, it is not always used, as will be seen in the tables and

discussion to follow. In such cases, the possessor is either understood from the context or explicitly mentioned in the possessive construction either as an NP or as a pronoun, as in (68b). Compare (68a-b). The person of the possessor in (68a) is ambiguous, while the person of the possessor in (68b) is evident because of the presence of the pronoun *kaem* ‘2PL’. I attribute the lack of person distinction in the plural possessive suffix to erosion in the inalienably possession suffixation system caused by language change (see §4.9.3).

- (68) a. *mat-en* *je*
 eye-PL.POSS PL
 ‘(our/your/their) eyes’
- b. *kaem mat-en* *je*
 2PL eye-PL.POSS PL
 ‘your eyes’

There are several paradigms for direct marking of possession on inalienably possessed nouns. A thorough description is beyond the scope of this preliminary study. As described in §2.7.2.3 on the morphophonology of suffixation on nouns, Batuley has three main sets of agreement suffixes that occur on inalienably possessed nouns. These sets are presented again in table 4.14. The three suffix sets are not allomorphic. Each set occurs lexically with a specific class of inalienable nouns. Class I inalienable nouns (table 4.15) take Set I suffixes, while Class II inalienable nouns (table 4.16) take Set II suffixes, and so forth. The inalienable possessive suffixes are agreement suffixes. They agree in person (and number) with the possessor. Note in the following tables that the 2SG.POSS and 3SG.POSS are not always marked. Furthermore, the 3SG.POSS is an ablaut or infix (see §2.7.3.2 on nominal ablaut/infixation).

Table 4.14: Main inalienable possessive suffixes

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	-ing	-ung	-ang
2SG	-em / -	-om / -	-am / -
3SG	<e> / -	<i> / -	<e> / -
PL	-in	-un	-en

Tables 4.15, 4.16 and 4.17 illustrate the fully inflected paradigms of all the Class I, II and III nouns I have identified in my data. Note that some nouns displace root mutation when occurring with a suffix (see §2.7.4.3 on noun root mutations).

Table 4.15: Class I nouns

	<i>gwal</i> ‘younger sibling’		<i>abei</i> ‘leg/foot’	<i>iwei</i> ‘fingernail’	<i>kalei</i> ‘skin/body’	<i>malefei</i> ‘forehead’
1SG.POSS	<i>gwal-ing</i>		<i>ab-ing</i>	<i>iw-ing</i>	<i>kal-ing</i>	<i>malef-ing</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>gwal-em</i>		<i>abei</i>	<i>iwei</i>	<i>kalei</i>	<i>malefei</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>gwa<e>l</i>		<i>abei</i>	<i>iwei</i>	<i>kalei</i>	<i>malefei</i>
PL.POSS	<i>gwal-in</i>		<i>ab-in</i>	<i>iw-in</i>	<i>kal-in</i>	<i>malef-in</i>

Table 4.16: Class II nouns

	<i>ler</i> ‘voice’		<i>bedil</i> ‘back’	<i>kabeler</i> ‘tongue’	<i>kuel</i> ‘thigh’	<i>neyen</i> ‘tooth’	<i>tager</i> ‘ear’
1SG.POSS	<i>ler-ung</i>		<i>bedl-ung</i>	<i>kabelr-ung</i>	<i>kul-ung</i>	<i>nen-ung</i>	<i>tagr-ung</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>ler-om</i>		<i>bedil</i>	<i>kabeler</i>	<i>kuel</i>	<i>neyen</i>	<i>tager</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>l<i>r</i>		<i>bedil</i>	<i>kabeler</i>	<i>kuel</i>	<i>neyen</i>	<i>tager</i>
PL.POSS	<i>ler-un</i>		<i>bedl-un</i>	<i>kabelr-un</i>	<i>kul-un</i>	<i>nen-un</i>	<i>tagr-un</i>

Table 4.17: Class III nouns

	<i>am</i> ‘father’	<i>faf</i> ‘mouth’		<i>jin</i> ‘mother’	<i>lim</i> ‘hand/arm’
1SG.POSS	<i>am-ang</i>	<i>faf-ang</i>		<i>jin-ang</i>	<i>lim-ang</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>am-am</i>	<i>faf-am</i>		<i>jin-am</i>	<i>lim-am</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>a<e>m</i>	<i>fa<e>f</i>		<i>jin</i>	<i>lim</i>
PL.POSS	<i>am-en</i>	<i>faf-en</i>		<i>jin-en</i>	<i>lim-en</i>

In addition to these main patterns, there are irregular inalienably possessed nouns that exhibit irregular suffixing roots (especially for the 3SG.POSS) and/or irregular suffixation. Table 4.18 illustrates the fully inflected paradigms of some of these nouns which I have identified in my data. See §2.7.4.3 and §2.7.2.3 for more on the root mutations and suffixation of these irregular inalienably possessed nouns.

Table 4.18: Some irregular inalienably possessed nouns

	<i>mat-</i> ‘eye’	<i>an-</i> ‘child’	<i>janan</i> ‘mother-in-law’	<i>gul</i> ‘head’
1SG.POSS	<i>mat-ang</i>	<i>an-ang</i>	<i>janang</i>	<i>gul-ung</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>mat-am</i>	<i>an-ag</i>	<i>janan</i>	<i>gul-om</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>ma<e>s</i>	<i>an<e>s</i>	<i>jan<e>n</i>	<i>gu<i>l ; gul</i>
PL.POSS	<i>mat-en</i>	<i>ank-uin</i>	<i>janan</i>	<i>gul-in</i>

At least two cognition and emotion terms and several kinship and body part terms (especially human body part terms) can be inalienably possessed. However, not all nouns belonging to these semantic categories are inalienably possessed. Table 4.19 lists the nouns I have identified in my

data which can be inalienably possessed. Note that several of these nouns can also be alienably possessed due to erosion in the system (see §4.9.3).

Table 4.19: Inalienably possessed nouns

Noun	English	Semantic Category
<i>abei</i>	‘leg/foot’	Body part
<i>agel</i>	‘neck’	
<i>bedil</i>	‘back’	
<i>faf</i>	‘mouth’	
<i>faf foloi</i>	‘beard’	
<i>faf kalei</i>	‘lip’	
<i>gul</i>	‘head’	
<i>gul taber</i>	‘head’	
<i>iwei</i>	‘fingernail’	
<i>jimin</i>	‘chin’	
<i>jurin</i>	‘nose’	
<i>kabeler</i>	‘tongue’	
<i>kalei</i>	‘skin/body’	
<i>kuel</i>	‘thigh’	
<i>lim</i>	‘hand/arm’	
<i>lim aur</i>	‘finger’	
<i>lir</i>	‘voice’	
<i>lir gwangur</i>	‘neck’	
<i>malefei</i>	‘forehead’	
<i>mat-</i>	‘eye’	
<i>mat- tangel</i>	‘eyebrow’	
<i>neyen</i>	‘tooth’	
<i>nungei</i>	‘face’	
<i>tager</i>	‘ear’	
<i>tubor</i>	‘stomach’	
<i>abui</i>	‘grandchild’	Kinship
<i>am-</i>	‘father’	
<i>an-</i>	‘child’	
<i>asi</i>	‘aunt’	
<i>gwal</i>	‘younger sibling’	
<i>jai</i>	‘uncle’	
<i>jin</i>	‘mother’	

<i>abel</i>	‘inside’ ⁶³ (i.e., ‘feelings’)	Cognition and emotion
<i>karsir</i>	‘memory’	

4.9.2 Alienable possession

The majority of Batuley nouns, especially those which are not kinship or body part terms, are alienably possessed. As with inalienably possessed nouns, alienably possessed nouns have preposed possessors. Alienable possessed nouns mark possession indirectly by way of possessive morphemes. The person-number of the possessor is expressed in the possessive morpheme. Table 4.20 presents the forms for alienable possessive morphemes.

Table 4.20: Alienable possessive morphemes

1SG.POSS	<i>kanang</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>kam</i>
3SG.POSS	<i>ken</i>
1PL.INCL.POSS	<i>sit</i>
1PL.EXCL.POSS	<i>kam</i>
2PL.POSS	<i>kem</i>
3PL.POSS	<i>id</i>

(69) illustrates an alienably possessed construction. The possessor *Jonias* ‘Jonias’ preposes the possessed noun *bog* ‘canoe’. Possession is indicated indirectly with an alienable possessive morpheme – in this case, *ken* ‘3SG.POSS’ – which precedes the possessed noun.

(69) *Jonias ken bog*
NAME 3SG.POSS canoe
‘Jonias’ canoe’

The preposed possessor can also be a noun modified by other elements, thus forming a larger NP. In (70), *kodar* ‘female’ is the N_{HEAD} of the NP *kodar nen* ‘that woman’, which is the possessor of the alienably possessed NP *fug je* ‘hair’.

(70) *kodar nen ken fug je*
female MED.SG.ANI 3SG.POSS hair PL
‘that woman’s hair’

The preposed possessor can also be a pronoun, as in (71), where the pronoun *id* ‘3PL’ preceded the homophonous alienable possessive morpheme *id* ‘3PL.POSS’ and the possessed noun *bai* ‘grandfather’.

⁶³ Locational nouns such as *abel* ‘inside’ are alienably possessed. However, when referring to ‘feelings’ (i.e., one’s emotional state) as well as one’s internal organs, *abel* is inalienably possessed.

- (71) *id id bai*
 3PL 3PL.POSS grandfather
 ‘their grandfather’

The possessor may be elided if understood from the discourse context. The possessive morpheme is sufficient in expressing the person and number of the possessor because it agrees with the possessor in person and number. Compare (72a-b). Both (72a) and (72b) are equally grammatical. Similarly, compare (8a-b), where both examples are equally acceptable possessive constructions.

- (72) a. *lef ken nar~nar*
 house 3SG.POSS RDP~long
 ‘the length of the house’
- b. *ken nar~nar*
 3SG.POSS RDP~long
 ‘its length’ (i.e., that of the house)

- (73) a. *ang kanang lef*
 1SG 1SG.POSS house
 ‘my house’
- b. *kanang lef*
 1SG.POSS house
 ‘my house’

Alienable possessive morphemes can function predicatively – acting similarly to stative verbs occurring with stative S agreement marking suffixes. However, alienable possessive morpheme suffixation is unique. See §3.8 for remarks on the possible historical development of this system. The data presented here is extremely tentative and varies from the notes in Pszczolka (2011).⁶⁴ It is the result of a short fieldwork elicitation session. Table 4.21 illustrates the preliminary findings for INANIMATE possession. Initial indications suggest that the distinction between ANIMATE and INANIMATE gender is neutralized in the plural. There was a great deal of variation in the data collected for the possession of ANIMATE nouns, and the speaker did not seem confident with his responses, perhaps because they were elicited in a non-natural context and because of the rarity of these forms. Further investigation is required. Note that when functioning predicatively, the 2PL alienable possessive morpheme is different from the form of the 2PL alienable possessive morpheme in table 4.20 above.

⁶⁴ As such, I do not address alienable possessive morpheme suffixation in the morphophonology section of chapter 2 (§2.7).

Table 4.21: 3SG.INA and 3PL possession suffixation on alienable possessive morphemes

	Possessor morpheme + 3SG.INA suffix	Possessor morpheme + 3PL suffix
1SG	<i>kanang-ui</i>	<i>kanang-uin</i>
2SG	<i>kam-ui</i>	<i>kam-uin</i>
3SG	<i>ken-ei</i>	<i>ken-ein</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>sit-ai</i>	<i>sit-aen</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kam-ai</i>	<i>kam-aen</i>
2PL	<i>keim-i</i>	<i>keim-in</i>
3PL	<i>id-ai</i>	<i>id-aen</i>

(74a-f) illustrate the predicative function of the alienable possessor morphemes for the INANIMATE noun *nor*⁶⁵ ‘coconut’. The possessed noun governs the agreement in person-number of the suffix. The presence of the possessor pronoun is optional. Compare (74e-f) where the possessor pronoun *nei* ‘3SG’ is present in (74f) but not in (74e).

- (74) a. *Nor onen, kanang-ui.*
 coconut PROX.SG.INA 1SG:POSS-3SG.INA
 ‘This coconut is mine.’
- b. *Nor din, kanang-uin.*
 coconut PROX.PL 1SG:POSS-3PL
 ‘These coconuts are mine.’
- c. *Nor on, keim-i.*
 coconut PROX.SG.INA 2PL:POSS-3SG.INA
 ‘This coconut is yours.’
- d. *Nor din, keim-ein.*
 coconut PROX.PL 2PL:POSS-3PL
 ‘These coconuts are yours.’
- e. *Nor on, ken-ei.*
 coconut PROX.SG.INA 3SG:POSS-3SG.INA
 ‘This coconut is his.’
- f. *Nor din, nei ken-ein.*
 coconut PROX.PL 3SG 3SG:POSS-3PL
 ‘These coconuts are his.’

⁶⁵ *Nor* is ANIMATE when referring to ‘coconut tree’. See §4.3.2.1 on variable gender classification.

4.9.3 Variable possessive classification

As noted in §2.7.2.3 on suffixation on nouns, there is a great deal of irregularity in the suffixation system for inalienably possessed nouns, which is likely due to historical irregularities and the current situation of language change. Some of the inalienable possessive suffixes are not used, especially those of the 2SG and the 3SG of Class I and II inalienably possessed nouns (see tables 4.15 and 4.16 above). Furthermore, as was noted in §4.9.1 above, there is no distinction made in suffixation for marking different plural persons; only a general PL.POSS suffix exists. This phenomenon contrasts with the inalienable possessive suffixation systems of other Aru languages, such as Kola (de Winne 2013a: 31) and Dobel (Hughes 2000: 140) where the different plural persons have distinct possessive suffixes.

The system of inalienable possessive marking appears to be eroding. In addition to the lack of suffixation, there is variability with regard to which possessive marking system (inalienable or alienable) speakers use for inalienably possessed nouns. Inalienable nouns marked with person-number possessive suffixation (especially the 3SG.POSS forms) are commonly treated as noun roots in alienable possession construction where they appear with an alienable possessive morpheme. Hughes notes a similar phenomenon in Dobel (2000: 144 fn.28). Compare (75a-c) which were all produced by a single speaker during an elicitation session and said to be acceptable variants of one another. In (75a), the Class II inalienably possessed noun *kuel* ‘thigh’ is marked with inalienable possessive suffixation, as expected. However, (75b) uses the bare root of the noun in an alienable possessive construction, and (75c) is doubly marked for possession in that it uses both alienable and inalienable possessive marking, as seen in the presence of the alienable possessive morpheme *kanang* ‘1SG.POSS’ and the inalienable possessive suffix *-ung* ‘1SG.POSS’.

- (75) a. *kul-ung*
thigh-1SG.POSS
‘my thigh’
- b. *kanang kuel*
1SG.POSS thigh
‘my thigh’
- c. *kanang kul-ung*
1SG.POSS thigh-1SG.POSS
‘my thigh’

I attribute the above variable constructions (and the majority of these sorts of variable constructions) for inalienably possessed nouns to influence from Malay. In local varieties of Malay, a possessive construction is similar to Batuley’s alienable possessive construction in that it has a preposed possessor and makes use of a possessive morpheme which precedes the

possessed noun.⁶⁶ In certain cases, however, the variability in Batuley may be semantically motivated. For instance, if one is speaking about the thigh of an animal, which is usually discussed in the context of cooking and food, then this body part term is alienably possessed, as in (76). In (76), the possessor is *faef* ‘pig’ and is understood from the discourse context.

- (76) *ken kuel*
 3SG.POSS thigh
 ‘its thigh’

Similarly, the alienably possessed locational noun *abel* is inalienably possessed when referring to ‘feelings’ (i.e., one’s emotional state). Compare (77a-b).

- (77) a. *sapatu ken abel*
 shoe 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘the inside of a shoe’
 b. *abl-ung*
 inside-1SG.POSS
 ‘my feelings’ (lit. ‘my insides’)

Table 4.22 presents a tentative list of inalienably possessed nouns which exhibit labile inalienable-alienable possession in my data. Presumably, variable possessive classification is possible with nearly every inalienably possessed noun, especially if a noun has a non-human possessor referent.

Table 4.22: Inalienably possessed nouns with variable possessive classification

Noun	English	Semantic Category
<i>agel</i>	‘neck’	Body part
<i>bedil</i>	‘back’	
<i>gul taber</i>	‘head’	
<i>iwei</i>	‘fingernail’	
<i>jimin</i>	‘chin’	
<i>jurin</i>	‘nose’	
<i>kabeler</i>	‘tongue’	
<i>kalei</i>	‘skin/body’	
<i>kuel</i>	‘thigh’	
<i>lim aur</i>	‘finger’	
<i>malefei</i>	forehead	

⁶⁶ For notes on Dobo and Ambon Malay possessive constructions see Tjia & Nivens (2007: 115). See also Paauw (2008: 408) for an explanation of Ambon Malay possessive constructions.

<i>mat-</i>	‘eye’	Kinship
<i>tager</i>	‘ear’	
<i>tubor</i>	‘stomach’	
<i>abui</i>	‘grandchild’	
<i>asi</i>	‘aunt’	
<i>gwal</i>	‘younger sibling’	
<i>jai</i>	‘uncle’	
<i>jin</i>	‘mother’	

4.9.4 Possessive compounds

4.9.4.1 Syntax of possessive compounds

A possessive compound is a possessive construction formed through juxtaposition of two nouns. The leftmost noun is the possessor and the rightmost noun is the possessed N_{HEAD} . As discussed in §4.2.1 on properties of nouns, the N_{HEAD} gives gender to its modifiers. In the possessive compound of (78), the INANIMATE N_{HEAD} *foen* ‘piece’ governs agreement for the entire compound. The numeral *dum* ‘six’ is therefore unmarked for agreement.

- (78) *kei foen dum*
 wood/tree piece six
 ‘six pieces of wood’

Syntactically, possessive compounds form classifier-like constructions, but they are essentially alienable possessive constructions with a possessor and a possessed noun. It is possible (and common) for an alienable possessive morpheme to stand between the two nouns, as in (79a) where the alienable possessive morpheme *id* ‘3PL.POSS’ follows the possessor *oitel din* ‘this corn’ and precedes the possessed noun *tabar* ‘seed’. When elided, the resulting juxtaposition of the two nouns forms a possessive compound, as in (79b).

- (79) a. *Oitel din id tabar laes*
 corn PROX..PL 3PL.POSS seed three
 ‘these three seeds of corn’ (i.e., ‘this corn’s three seeds’)
- b. *oitel tabar laes*
 corn seed three
 ‘three corn seeds’

Locational compounds especially occur frequently with an alienable possessive morpheme. Compare (80a) where the alienable possessive morpheme *ken* ‘3SG.POSS’ links the possessor *lef* ‘house’ with the possessed locational noun *fufun* ‘top’ or ‘above’. In the locational compound of (80b), the alienable possessive morpheme is elided.

(80) a. *lef ken fufun*
house 3SG.POSS top
‘top of the house’ / ‘above the house’

b. *lef fufun*
house top
‘top of the house’ / ‘above the house’

4.9.4.2 Semantics of possessive compounds

Possessive compounds display different semantic relationships. In sortal compound relationships, the N_{HEAD} designates the type or group of objects that is defined by the first noun in the possessive compound (§4.9.4.2.1), and in locational compound relationships, the N_{HEAD} specifies a location in relation to the deictic centre, which is the position of the entity defined by the first noun in the possessive compound (§4.9.4.2.2).

4.9.4.2.1 Sortal compounds

Certain nouns in Batuley take a sortal classifier noun in possessive compounds. Sortal classifiers are nouns which indicate a type or group of objects defined by the first noun in the possessive compound. Some sortal classifiers, such as *foen* ‘piece’ and *tiler* ‘cut’, are used in part-whole relationships to indicate a part of a whole object which is defined by the first noun in the possessive compound. Table 4.23 presents the sortal classifier nouns, the type of objects they occur with and their nominal meaning. Table 4.23 is followed by a discussion of each sortal classifier noun and an illustration of its use. All such nouns are INANIMATE and their modifiers are therefore unmarked for agreement. Sortal nouns frequently occur independently as nouns outside of possessive compounds.

Table 4.23: Examples of sortal classifier nouns

Classifier	Type of Objects it Classifies	Nominal Meaning
<i>foen</i>	pieces	‘piece’
<i>fui</i>	fruits	‘fruit’
<i>log</i>	hearts (bananas)	‘heart’
<i>ragat</i>	bundles (bamboo)	‘bundle’
<i>raun</i>	thin sheet-like objects, windows, doors	‘leaf’
<i>rug</i>	hands (bananas)	‘hand’
<i>siu</i>	bunches (coconuts)	‘bunch’
<i>tabar</i>	seeds, grain	‘seed’
<i>tiler</i>	cuts, slices	‘cut’

The noun *foen* ‘piece’ has been observed to occur as a sortal classifier with *gungar* ‘sugarcane’, *kai* ‘wood/tree’, *keilab* ‘wooden plank’, *keiran* ‘tree branch’, *semal* ‘bamboo’ and

sol ‘rope’. It designates a piece of the object in question, which has been cut or broken off from a longer or wider piece. (81a-c) illustrate its use. Note that, as expected, the sortal noun controls agreement. In (81a-c), the numerals are unmarked because the INANIMATE sortal noun *foen* in each example governs agreement.

- (81) a. *gungar foen laes*
 sugarcane piece three
 ‘three pieces of sugarcane’
- b. *keilab foen laes*
 wood.plank piece three
 ‘three wooden plank pieces’
- c. *semal foen lim*
 bamboo piece five
 ‘five pieces of bamboo’

The noun *fui* ‘fruit’ occurs as a sortal classifier with nearly any type of fruit. (82a-b) present examples of its use. Although it is non-obligatory, it is used in order to avoid the ambiguity that is possible in its absence. When ANIMATE, *nor* and *gwei* refer to the whole plant – that is, they refer to ‘coconut tree’ and ‘cultivated mango tree’, respectively.

- (82) a. *nor fui kau*
 coconut fruit four
 ‘four coconuts’
- b. *gwei fui laes*
 mango.sp fruit three
 ‘three cultivated mangos’

The noun *log* ‘heart’ is used as a sortal classifier for indicating a heart of bananas. It is not known if *log* can be used with other fruits. (83) presents the sole example of *log* from my corpus.

- (83) *mug log ru*
 banana banana.heart two
 ‘two banana hearts’

The noun *ragat* ‘bundle’ is used as a sortal classifier in reference to a bundle of bamboo pieces that have been cut and tied together. (84a-b) illustrate the use of this noun as a sortal classifier.

(84) a. *Nei af semal ragat et.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:carry **bamboo bundle.ko** one
 ‘He brought a bundle of bamboo.’

b. *Kuf semal ragat ru.*
 1SG.ACT:carry **bamboo bundle.ko** two
 ‘I brought two bundles of bamboo.’

The noun *raun* ‘leaf’ occurs non-obligatorily as a sortal classifier for objects that are relatively flat and elongated. Interestingly, it also occurs with *tulag* ‘window’ and *janom* ‘door’, presumably because windows and doors were formerly made of large leaves, as was explained to me by my informants. (85a-c) illustrate the use of *raun* ‘leaf’ as a sortal classifier noun.

(85) a. *tulag raun laes*
 hole leaf three
 ‘three windows’

b. *kefing raun lim*
 money leaf five
 ‘five banknotes’

c. *keidag raun kau*
 blanket leaf four
 ‘four blankets’

The noun *rug* ‘hand’ is used as a sortal classifier in reference to a hand of bananas. It cannot be used with any other fruits. There is one example of its use in my corpus, (86).

(86) *mug rug et*
 banana hand.ko one
 ‘one hand of bananas’

The noun *siu* ‘bunch’ is similar to *rug* except that it signifies a bunch of coconuts. It cannot be used with any other fruits. There are only two examples of its use in my corpus, (87a-b).

(87) a. *nor siu dum*
 coconut bunch.ko six
 ‘six bunches of coconuts’

- b. *nor siu kau*
 coconut bunch.ko four
 ‘four bunches of coconuts’

The noun *tabar* ‘seed’ occurs as a sortal classifier for seeds and grain. (88a-b) illustrate the use of *tabar* ‘seed’ as a sortal classifier.

- (88) a. *awei tabar dum*
 rice seed six
 ‘six grains of rice’

- b. *oitel tabar laes*
 corn seed three
 ‘three corn seeds’

The noun *tiler* ‘cut’ occurs as a sortal classifier for slices or pieces of food. It does not occur in my own data. (89a-b) are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011).

- (89) a. *jig tiler lim*
 fish cut five
 ‘five slices of fish’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b. *manam tiler lim*
 food cut five
 ‘five pieces of food’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 9:13)

4.9.4.2.2 Locational compounds

Nouns designating location commonly occur in possessive compounds. In these constructions, the locational noun is the N_{HEAD} and specifies a location in relation to the deictic centre. The deictic centre is the first noun in the possessive compound. Table 4.24 presents the locational nouns from my corpus and is followed by examples of their use. All such nouns are INANIMATE and their modifiers are therefore unmarked for agreement. Locational nouns frequently occur independently as nouns outside of possessive compounds, as well as inside alienable possessive constructions where the alienable possessive morpheme is present. The locational nouns *jereruei* ‘middle’ and *muir* ‘back’ are marked with † in table 4.24 because they do not occur in possessive compounds in my corpus. They occur frequently but in alienable possessive constructions where the alienable possessive morpheme is present and independently outside of possessive compounds.

Table 4.24: Locational nouns

Noun	English
<i>abel</i>	‘inside’
<i>fin</i>	‘side/part’
<i>fufun</i>	‘above’; ‘top’
<i>jereruei</i> †	‘middle’
<i>juei</i>	‘side’ (i.e., ‘next to’)
<i>mon</i>	‘front’
<i>muir</i> †	‘back’; ‘behind’
<i>sien</i>	‘below’; ‘underneath’
<i>tafuren</i>	‘middle’
<i>tutui</i>	‘top’; ‘above’

The locational noun *abel* ‘inside’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the interior or middle region of the first noun in the possessive compound. Examples (90a-c) illustrate its use. Note that, as expected, the locational noun governs agreement. In (90a), the stative verb *ales* is unmarked because the INANIMATE locational noun *abel* governs agreement, not the ANIMATE noun *lim* ‘hand/arm’. *Abel* can also mean ‘between’ in reference to the space between two objects, as in (90c).

- (90) a. *Lim abel ales.*
 hand/arm inside empty
 ‘His hand was empty.’ (i.e., ‘The palm of his open hand was empty.’)
- b. *gwayor abel*
 water inside
 ‘in water’
- c. *Ku-jamor agai ja kol kum~kum abel ...*
 1SG.ACT-walk HAB CONJ 1SG.ACT:get **RDP~stone inside**
 ‘Now and then, I walk between stones ...’

The locational noun *fin* ‘side’ or ‘part’ is used in possessive compounds to designate a side, part or region of the first noun in the possessive compound. Examples (91a-d) illustrate its use. *Fin* can also be used to indicate an item belonging to a pair, such as a hand from a pair of hands or a shoe from a pair of shoes, as illustrated in (91a-c).

- (91) a. *lim fin i*
 hand/arm side/part INDEF
 ‘one of his hands’

b. *ken sapatu fin i*
 3SG.POSS shoe side/part INDEF
 ‘one of his shoes’

c. *lim fin lim*
 hand/arm side/part right
 ‘right hand’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

d. *rai fin ere*
 land side/part DIST.SG.INA
 ‘the other side of land over there’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Mt 14:22)

The locational noun *fufun* ‘top’ or ‘above’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the region above the deictic centre. Examples (92a-c) illustrate its use.

(92) a. *kol jar fufun*
 1SG.ACT:get seaweed top
 ‘I pass through the top of the seaweed’

b. *Sol foen i am kum fufun.*
 rope piece INDEF 3SG.ACT:be.at stone top
 ‘A piece of rope is on top of a stone.’

c. *Fuis am kirjaban fufun.*
 cat 3SG.ACT:be.at mat top
 ‘A cat is on top of a mat.’

The locational noun *juei* ‘side’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the region next to the first noun in the possessive compound. Examples (93a-c) illustrate its use. In my corpus, *juei* occurs frequently in alienable possession constructions with an alienable possessive morpheme.

(93) a. *Tara a-talar lef juei.*
 dog 3SG.ACT-sit house side
 ‘A dog is sitting next to a house.’

b. *Tamata am jekei juei.*
 person 3SG.ACT:be.at fire side
 ‘A person is next to a fire.’

- c. *Kai* *a-r-tabrer* *garej* *juei*.
 wood/tree 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand **church** **side**
 ‘A tree is standing next to a church.’

The locational noun *mon* ‘front’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the front of the deictic centre. Examples (94a-b) illustrate its use. In my corpus, *mon* is most often used in alienable possessive constructions with an alienable possessive morpheme. *Mon* also occurs as a stative verb in attributive constructions such as those used to designate the first person in a family (see §4.5.1.3).

- (94) a. *A-jamor* *a-lfai* *lef* *abel*, *a-jel* *lef* *mon*.
 3SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT-exit house inside 3SG.ACT-toward **house** **front**
 ‘He walks out of the house to the front of the house.’
- b. *a-jamor* *ban* *lef* *mon*
 3SG.ACT-walk SRC **house** **front**
 ‘he walks from the front of the house’

The locational noun *sien* ‘below’ or ‘underneath’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the region below the deictic centre, as in (95a), or the lower region of the deictic centre, as in (95b).

- (95) a. *Fuis* *am* *mej* *sien*.
 cat 3SG.ACT:be.at **table** **below**
 ‘A cat is underneath a table.’
- b. *Gulgul karet* *a-galat* *mej* *sien*.
 chewing.gum 3SG.ACT-adhere **table** **below**
 ‘Some chewing gum is stuck to the underside of a table.’

The locational noun *tafuren* ‘middle’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the middle region of the deictic centre. Examples (96a-c) illustrate its use.

- (96) a. *Pita* *am* *lilin* *tafuren*.
 ribbon 3SG.ACT:be.at **candle** **middle**
 ‘Some ribbon is (tied around) the middle of a candle.’
- b. *Kai* *a-r-tabrer* *fugar* *tafuren*.
 wood/tree 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand **hill** **middle**
 ‘A tree is standing in the middle of a hill.’ (i.e. halfway up a hill)

c. *dam sol tafuren*

3PL.ACT:be.at **rope middle**

‘they (two pieces of wood) are lying on the middle part of a rope’

The locational noun *tutui* ‘top’ is used in possessive compounds to designate the top part of the deictic centre. I have only two examples of its use in my corpus, (97a-b).

(97) a. *Ang ku-fan fei kei tutui.*

1SG 1SG.ACT-fall from **tree top**

‘I fell from the top of a tree.’

b. *Lara ner a-fan ban kei tutui.*

sun NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-fall go **tree top**

‘The sun is falling towards the tree tops.’

4.10 Conjoining nouns and NPs

Batuley has three conjoiners used to combine nouns and NPs: *je* (§4.10.1), *fel* (§4.10.3) and *se* (§4.10.4). I only have data of conjoining nouns in many of these examples. §4.10.2 is devoted to the topic of *je* in parallelisms.

4.10.1 *Je* ‘and’

The conjoiner *je* ‘and’ is used to conjoin nouns. It expresses a relationship of addition and comitativity. It appears between both nouns, as seen in examples (98a-c).

(98) a. *jig je mir*

fish **CONJ** crab

‘fish and crab’

b. *kad je labun*

trousers **CONJ** shirt

‘trousers and shirt’

c. *jin-ang je am-ang*

mother-1SG.POSS **CONJ** father-1SG.POSS

‘my mother and father’

An allomorph of *je* is *ja*. In (99a), from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), *ja* is used as a conjoiner of NPs. In (99b), it is used as a conjoiner for the names of characters in the context of the story being told. *Ja* is also used as a sequential aspect marker (§5.8.2.2) and as a conjoiner of verbal clauses in sequential and consequential relationships (see §6.2.2.2).

- (99) a. *Kam sumen kam [manam tiler lim]_{NP} ja [jig ru-ei]_{NP}.*
 1PL.EXCL only 1PL.EXCL.POSS food cut five CONJ fish two-3PL.ANI
 ‘We only have five pieces of food and two fish.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 9:13)
- b. *Rar Faf Ngamai ja Il Ru*
 girl nature heaven CONJ male two
 ‘the girl of his dreams and Il Ru ’

Another possible allomorph of *je* is *e*. There is only one example of *e* in my corpus, presented in (100). I analyze it as a conjoiner (and possibly an allomorph of *je*) because *dini* appears to be acting pronominally in (100). Others may analyze *e* in (100) as an associated plural marker that is used in conjunction with a demonstrative. Without further examples, the status of *e* remains unclear.

- (100) *Ai, ku-rengar ... oh ... Jonias e dini da-ftultul jel*
 INTERJ 1SG.ACT-hear INTERJ NAME CONJ PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-serious toward
mangar one, ai?
 fish.sp PROX.SG.INA INTERJ
 ‘Hey, I hear that ... oh ... Jonias’ family is serious about the grouper fish, you know?’

4.10.2 *Je* in parallelisms

Je appears in Batuley ‘parallelisms’ – a term reported to have many definitions in the literature (Grimes et al. 1997: 16) but which I use here in the broad sense of “paired correspondences, at the semantic and syntactic levels” (Fox 1988: 1). In Batuley, these take the form of doublets or dyadic expressions composed of two nouns conjoined by *je*. Together the two nouns have one meaning and are grammatically treated as a singular noun. When the meaning of a component noun is still discernible by speakers, it may be used on its own. However, there are a few component nouns of some parallelisms, like *nangan* and *jam*, which are no longer used on their own. Table 4.25 presents the parallelisms I have identified from my corpus. I give the literal meaning of each component noun in the parallelism and mark those whose individual meaning is no longer recognizable by speakers with an ‘X’. Parallelisms include Malay borrowings, such as *kandati* ‘contempt’ (in the parallelism *sus je kandati*) and *mangarti* ‘understanding’ (in the parallelism *kirkir je mangarti*). This may be taken as an indication that parallelisms are productive. Further investigation is required.

Table 4.25: Parallelisms

Parallelism	Literal Meaning	English
<i>ar je kadai</i>	‘harpoon main shaft (specific) and harpoon foreshaft (specific)’	‘fishing harpoon’
<i>bam je nanga</i>	‘X and steal(ing)’	‘thief’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
<i>bui je faritan</i>	‘betel nut and betel vine’	‘betel nut’ (ready for chewing)
<i>dian je tawagar</i>	‘earthen pot ⁶⁷ and X’	‘kitchen utensils’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
<i>faf je nangan</i>	‘nature and X’	‘weather’
<i>fu je bar</i>	‘heart and lungs’	‘spirit’
<i>jam je gwalian</i>	‘X and sibling’	‘brothers and sisters’
<i>jam je keiran</i>	‘X and sister’	‘sisters’
<i>janad je dunad</i>	‘greed and X’	‘nobody’
<i>jig je manam</i>	‘fish and food’	‘food’
<i>kirkir je mangarti</i>	‘thought and understanding’	‘thoughts’
<i>laui je falade</i>	‘foreigners and X’	‘foreigners’
<i>sus je kandati</i>	‘difficulty and contempt’	‘life difficulties’
<i>taung je narag</i>	‘year and time’	‘a very long time’

The second noun in a parallelism is usually a (near) synonym of the first and serves to augment or reinforce the meaning of the first noun, as with *sus je kandati* ‘life difficulties’, where the Malay borrowing *kandati* ‘contempt’ is combined with *sus* ‘difficulty’. Other parallelisms represent a part-part relationship where the combined meaning of the two nouns is that of a whole which, in some cases, is greater than the two parts. This is seen in *ar je kadai* ‘fishing harpoon’. Both *ar* and *kadai* are specific parts of a fishing harpoon, excluding the end blade and line. Similarly, *fu je bar* is composed of ‘heart and lungs’ but has the combined wider meaning of ‘spirit’.

Despite being composed of two nouns combined with the conjoiner *je*, parallelisms are treated as singular nouns. This is illustrated in (101a-b). In (101a), *faf je nangan* is assigned to the INANIMATE gender and treated as a singular noun. This is evident in the lack of agreement marking on the stative verb *safoi* ‘calm’ and the *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’ agreement marker on the intensifier *ig*. The parallelism *fu je bar* is treated as a singular noun in (101b). This is evident in the person-number treatment of the target irregular active verb *nal* ‘3SG.ACT:get’.

- (101) a. *Faf je nangan safoi a-ig.*
 weather calm 3SG.ACT-INTS
 ‘It [the weather] is very calm.’

⁶⁷ *Dian* is an active verb meaning ‘pregnant’. Pszczolka (n.d.-a) notes that in this context, *dian* is perhaps a truncation of *diantan* ‘type of traditional Batuley earthen pot’.

- b. *Bia kanang fu je bar nal sanang.*
 IMP 1SG.POSS spirit 3SG.ACT:get happiness
 ‘Let me rest a bit.’

4.10.3 *Fel* ‘and’ or ‘with’

The conjoiner *fel* can be translated as ‘and’ or ‘with’. It expresses a relationship of addition and comitativity. It occurs between nouns, NPs and, less frequently, between verbal clauses (see §6.2.2.1). *Fel* and *je* are interchangeable in some cases. Compare (102a-b) from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) where *fel* and *je* are used to conjoin nouns.

- (102) a. *anen fel badel*
 wind CONJ wave
 ‘wind and waves’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 8:25b)

- b. *anen je badel*
 wind CONJ wave
 ‘wind and waves’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 8:22)

Fel is preferred over *je* in certain contexts to avoid repetition, as in (103) where the plural marker *je*, which is a homophone of the conjoiner *je*, already appears twice. Perhaps to avoid repetition of *je*, *fel* is used.

- (103) *tulag raun je fel janom raun je*
 hole leaf PL CONJ door leaf PL
 ‘windows and doors’

Fel is closely related to the verbal preposition *tur* ‘with’ in meaning and function as a marker of comitativity (see §7.3.9). There is one example in my corpus of *fel* occurring with person-number inflection while functioning as an NP conjoiner. See also §6.2.2.1 for a similar discussion where *fel* occurs once with person-number inflection as a conjoiner of verbal clauses. Conjoiners are not expected to occur with person-inflection. The presence of person-number inflection in (104) may have to do with the close similarities in semantics and function to the verbal preposition *tur* ‘with’.

- (104) *Oitel fui dum dini da-fel id kalei.*
 corn fruit six PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-CONJ 3PL.POSS skin/body.
 ‘These six pieces of corn are with their husks.’

Fei is an allomorph of *fel* caused by lenition of the final lateral /l/ to the semivowel /j/. Examples presented in (105a-b) illustrate its use. *Fei* is homophonous with the allomorph *fei* of the source-introducing verbal preposition *fai* ‘SRC’ (see §7.3.7).

(105) a. *kodar nan fei il nane*
 female PROX.SG.ANI CONJ male PROX.SG.ANI
 ‘this woman and this man’

b. *bog fei lar*
 canoe CONJ sail
 ‘a canoe with a sail’

Fei is used in comparatives, as in (106a-b) where it functions similarly to the English ‘than’.

(106) a. *Sandal pasang en kat fei enon.*
 sandal pair MED.SG.INA bad CONJ MED.SG.INA
 ‘That pair of sandals is worse than that one.’

b. *Tamata nan kat-en fei tamata nenon.*
 person PROX.SG.ANI bad-3SG.ANL.STV CONJ person MED.SG.ANI
 ‘This person is worse than that person.’

4.10.4 *Se* ‘or’

The conjoiner *se* ‘or’ is used to link both NPs and verbal clauses (see §6.2.2.5). Although discussed under conjunction, *se* actually indicates disjunction. There is one example from my data and one from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) of *se* as a conjoiner used to link NPs. In (107) from my own data, *se* is used to contrast two alternative NPs. In (108) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a.), *se* similarly contrasts two alternative NPs. Note that the N_{HEAD} of the second NP is elided because both NPs share the same reference N_{HEAD}, *mer* ‘day’.

(107) [*ken bog*]_{NP} *se* [*ken ula*]_{NP}
 3SG.POSS canoe CONJ 3SG.POSS what
 ‘his canoe or his whatever (it is)’

(108) [*mer et*]_{NP} *se* [*ru*]_{NP}
 day one CONJ two
 ‘one or two days’

(Pszczolka, n.d.-a)

4.11 Pronouns

Pronouns in Batuley are a closed sub-class of nouns. They cannot be possessed or determined. They replace the NP. Compare (109a-b) from a narrative where the pronoun *nei* ‘3SG’ of (109b) replaces the NP *gwau nane* ‘the child’ of (109a). Furthermore, pronouns can be quantified, as seen in (110a-c).

(109) a. [*Gwau nane*]_{NP} *a-tudon* *ken* *tara ...*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-carry.on.shoulder 3SG.POSS dog
 ‘The child held his dog on his shoulders ...’

b. *nei a-rengar moni ...*
 3SG 3SG.ACT-hear something
 ‘he heard something ...’

(110) a. *sit lim-sit*
 1PL.INCL five-1PL.INCL.ANI
 ‘the five of us’

a. *kaem ru-kem*
 2PL two-2PL.ANI
 ‘the two of you’

c. *id las-i*
 3PL three-3PL.ANI
 ‘the three of them’

Batuley personal pronouns are marked for person and number. There is an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural. Personal pronouns are unmarked for grammatical role.

Table 4.26: Personal pronouns

1SG	<i>ang</i>
2SG	<i>kaig</i>
3SG	<i>nai / nei</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>sit</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kam</i>
2PL	<i>kaem</i>
3PL	<i>id</i>

Personal pronouns can occur as subjects – that is, as the A and S arguments – and objects – that is, as the P argument. (111a-c) provide examples of personal pronouns occurring as the A, S and P arguments.

A argument:

(111) a. ***Id*** *da-fuir* *lim-en.*
3PL 3PL.ACT-wash hand/arm-PL
 ‘They are washing their hands.’

S argument:

- b. *Nei mangur-un.*
3SG have.runny.nose-3SG.ANI.STV
'She has a runny nose.'

P argument:

- c. *Nei a-it sit.*
3SG 3SG.ACT-see 1PL.INCL
'He sees us.'

The presence of the personal pronouns gives the A, S and P arguments a higher prominence in the utterance. As discussed in detail in §3.4.4, the A and S argument affixes are agreement affixes, whereas the P argument suffix is a pronominal suffix. The P argument pronoun does not co-occur with a P argument pronominal suffix. Compare (112a-b). In (112a), the P argument personal pronoun *kaig* '2SG' is present while the P argument pronominal suffix is absent on the verb. In (112b), the personal pronoun is absent. Therefore, the P argument pronominal suffix *-ug* '2SG.PAT' must occur in its place. I am unsure what governs the choice between the P-coding options. So far, the use of the P pronoun instead of the P suffix has only occurred in elicited speech. The use of the P pronoun may have to do with topicality, but further investigation is required especially to see where the P pronoun might occur in unelicited speech.

- (112) a. *Ang ku-dawar kaig.*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hit 2SG
'I hit you.'

- b. *Ang ku-dawar-ug.*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hit-2SG.PAT
'I hit you.'

In contrast, the A and S personal pronouns co-occur with agreement affixes of the same person-number specification. In (113a), the A argument personal pronoun *ang* '1SG' co-occurs with its agreement prefix *ku-* '1SG.ACT'. Similarly in (113b), the stative S argument personal pronoun *sit* '1PL.INCL' co-occurs with the agreement suffix *-sit* '1PL.INCL.STV'.

- (113) a. *Ang ku-ga man.*
1SG 1SG.ACT-hunt/chase bird
'I am hunting a bird.'

- b. *Sit rare-sit.*
1PL.INCL hot-1PL.INCL.STV
'We are hot.'

Personal pronouns can occupy the oblique argument slot in a prepositional phrase – that is, the R argument slot. In (114), the personal pronoun *kam* ‘1PL.EXCL’ stands in the R argument slot in the prepositional phrase headed by -g ‘GOAL’.

- (114) *Id dal buku da-g kam.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT:get book 3PL.ACT-GOAL 1PL.EXCL
 ‘They gave us a book.’

5 The clause

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a preliminary description of the clause, covering basic clause structure (§5.2), pragmatic variation in the clause (§5.3), oblique arguments and prepositional phrases (§5.4), negation (§5.5), imperatives (§5.6), interrogatives (§5.7) and clause modifiers (§5.8). Due to a shortage of narrative texts from my own data, this section is highly tentative and draws many of its examples from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011).

5.2 Basic clause structure

This section describes the basic clause structure with verbal predicates (§5.2.1) and non-verbal predicates (§5.2.2).

5.2.1 Verbal predicates

The basic argument ordering of a clause with a transitive active verb that is declarative and affirmative is AVP. (1a) illustrates this. If there are no overt arguments, the same argument ordering applies in terms of the position of the A argument agreement and P argument pronominal markers in relation to the verb root, as illustrated in (1b).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--------------|
| | A | AGR _A -V | P |
| (1) | a. | <i>Ang ku-glag</i> | <i>buku.</i> |
| | | 1SG 1SG.ACT-hide:RSYL | book |
| | | 'I hid the book.' | |
| | | AGR _A -V-P | |
| | b. | <i>Ku-goil-i.</i> | |
| | | 1SG.ACT-buy-3PL.PAT | |
| | | 'I buy them.' (referring to <i>jig</i> 'fish' (3SG.ANI)) | |

The basic argument ordering of a clause with an intransitive active verb that is declarative and affirmative is SV. (2a) illustrates this. If there is no overt argument, the same argument ordering applies in terms of the position of the S argument agreement marker in relation to the verb root, as illustrated in (1b).

- | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|
| | S | AGR _S -V |
| (2) | a. | <i>Ang ku-jamor a-sen.</i> |
| | | 1SG 1SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT-alone |
| | | 'I am just walking.' |

‘I am walking.’

5.2.2 Non-verbal predicates

Batuley has non-verbal predicates without the use of a copula. In a clause with a non-verbal predicate, a subject (S/A argument) is juxtaposed to a non-verbal predicate. Furthermore, the S/A argument precedes the predicate. Non-verbal predicates can be noun phrases (NPs), alienable possessive morphemes or numerals.

(5a-b) present equative clauses. These are clauses in which the predicate describes a feature of the subject (S argument). Equative clauses are composed of two juxtaposed NPs. All equative clauses in my corpus are headed by demonstratives. I do not have examples of equative clauses headed by an NP and where the demonstrative forms the predicate. In (5a), the S argument is the demonstrative *on* ‘PROX.SG.INA’ and the non-verbal predicate is the NP *kanang lef* ‘my house’. In (5b), the S argument is the demonstrative *dini* ‘PROX.PL’ and the non-verbal predicate is the NP *kanang lef je* ‘my houses’. Refer to §4.4.2.2 on the pronominal use of demonstratives for more examples of non-verbal predicates composed of NPs.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| | S | PRED | |
| (5) | a. | [<i>On</i>] _{NP} | [<i>kanang lef</i>] _{NP} . |
| | | PROX.SG.INA | 1SG.POSS house |
| | | ‘This is my house.’ | |
-
- | | | | |
|--|----|-------------------------------|--|
| | S | PRED | |
| | b. | [<i>Dini</i>] _{NP} | [<i>kanang lef je</i>] _{NP} . |
| | | PROX.PL | 1SG.POSS book PL |
| | | ‘These are my houses.’ | |

It is possible to analyze alienable possessive morphemes as heading non-verbal predicates. As discussed in §4.9.2, alienable possessive morphemes can function predicatively – acting similarly to stative verbs that occur with S agreement marking suffixes. (6a-b) present two examples of this taken from §4.9.2. In each, there is S argument agreement marking on the predicative alienable possessive morpheme. As noted in §4.9.2, these constructions require further investigation.

- | | | |
|-----|----|---|
| | S | PRED-AGR _S |
| (6) | a. | [<i>Nor onen</i>] _{NP} , [<i>kanang-ui</i>]. |
| | | coconut PROX.INA 1SG:POSS-3SG.INA |
| | | ‘This coconut is mine.’ |
-
- | | | |
|--|----|---|
| | S | PRED-AGR _S |
| | b. | [<i>Nor din</i>] _{NP} , [<i>kanang-uin</i>]. |
| | | coconut PROX.PL 1SG:POSS-3PL |
| | | ‘These coconuts are mine.’ |

(7a-b) present non-verbal predicates formed from numerals. In each example, the numeral carries stative S agreement suffixation because the S argument is ANIMATE. I do not have clear examples showing the non-verbal predicative use of numerals with INANIMATE S arguments; I would not expect there to be ANIMACY agreement suffixation on the numeral in such examples (see §4.5.1.2 for a discussion of suffixation on numerals).

- (7) S PRED-AGR_S
a. [Au dini] [ru-ei].
 snake PROX.PL two-3PL.ANI
 ‘These snakes (are) two.’ (i.e., ‘There are two of these snakes.’)
- S PRED-AGR_S
b. [Id] [kau-ei].
 3PL four-3PL.ANI
 ‘They (are) four.’ (i.e., ‘There are four of them.’)

5.3 Pragmatic variation in the clause

Pragmatic variation in the clause takes the form of S/A argument topicalization (§5.3.1) and P argument topicalization (§5.3.2). Topicalization is characterized by marked ordering – that is, the ordering of arguments differs from the ordering encountered in declarative, affirmative clauses, as discussed in §5.2.1 above. The marked ordering of topicalization has the effect of emphasizing an argument. With topicalization, an argument is repeated and/or advanced leftward in an utterance.

5.3.1 S/A argument topicalization

S/A argument topicalization is achieved through repetition of the S/A argument for emphasis. The repeated S/A argument is fronted and provides additional information about the S/A argument, as in (8a-c). In (8a), the A argument NP *il neno fei kodar neno* ‘that man and that woman’ is advanced in the utterance for emphasis. It is followed by a pause before the clause *ruei daja ra* ‘the two of them are talking’. *Ruei* refers to the NP *il neno fei kodar neno* and functions as the A argument of the verbal predicate *daja ra* ‘they are talking’. Similarly, in (8b-c), the S/A argument *tamata dini* ‘these people’ is advanced in the utterance for emphasis. It is followed by a pause before a clause. The pronominal use of *ruei* ‘the two of them’ refers to the NP *tamata dini* and functions as the S/A argument of the predicate in each examples. In (8b), it is the S argument of an intransitive active verb that is topicalized. In (8a&c), it is the A argument of a transitive verb that is topicalized.

- (8) a.

	A _i		A _i	V	P
[<i>il</i>	<i>nenō</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>kodar</i>	<i>nenō</i>],	[<i>ru-ei</i>
male	MED.SG.ANI	CONJ	female	MED.SG.ANI	two-3PL.ANI
				3PL.ACT-say	speech
‘that man and that woman, the two of them are talking’					
- b.

S _i		S _i		V		V
[<i>Tamata</i>	<i>dini</i>],	[<i>ru-ei</i>	<i>da-bual</i>] _{CLAUSE}	<i>eng</i>	[<i>da-mael</i>] _{CLAUSE} .	
person	PROX.PL	two-3PL.ANI	3PL.ACT-talk	CONJ	3PL.ACT-laugh	
‘These people, the two of them are talking and laughing.’						
- c.

A _i		A _i		V		P
[<i>Tamata</i>	<i>dini</i>],	[<i>ru-ei</i>	<i>da-r-jit~jit</i>		<i>gul-in</i>	<i>je</i>] _{CLAUSE} .
person	PROX.PL	two-3PL.ANI	3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~stare		head-3PL.POSS	PL
‘These people, the two of them are staring at their heads.’						

5.3.2 P argument topicalization

The examples of P argument topicalization that I have differ from those of S/A argument topicalization examined in §5.3.1 above. In (9a-b), instead of repetition and fronting of the argument, it appears as if the arguments are not repeated. In each, the P argument is fronted. However, note that P argument pronominal marking on the verb *el* ‘do’ is not permitted because the fronted argument in each example is a 3SG.INA argument (see §3.4.4). Further investigation is required to see if fronted ANIMATE P arguments require the presence of P pronominal marking on the verb. In (9a-b), I analyze the fronted argument as the P argument of the first verb *el* ‘do’.

- (9) a.

P _i		V ₁		V ₂		P _j
[<i>Lef</i>	<i>er</i>],	[<i>ma-el</i>	<i>ma-i</i>	<i>semeng</i>] _{CLAUSE} ...		
house	NVIS.SG.INA	1PL.EXCL.ACT-do	1PL.EXCL.ACT-use	cement		
‘that house, we built with cement’						
- b.

P _i		V ₁		V ₂		P _j
[<i>Ken</i>	<i>fondasi</i>],	[<i>ma-el</i>	<i>ma-ig</i>	<i>sameng fel</i>		
3SG.POSS	foundation	1PL.EXCL.ACT-do	1PL.EXCL.ACT-use	cement	CONJ	
<i>kul</i>] _{CLAUSE} ...						
sand						
‘Its foundations, we built with cement and sand ...’						

In (10), from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), the possessor of the NP *id fui* ‘their fruit’ is topicalized because it is fronted. There are other similar examples in Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). In this context, topicalizing the possessor is perhaps a strategy for avoiding complex constructions.

- (10) [*Kai da-frang dam~dam gutan on ken abel*]_{POSSESSOR}
 tree 3PL.ACT-all RDP~3PL.ACT:be.at garden PROX.SG.INA 3SG.POSS inside
 [*bis mug id fui*]_{CLAUSE}
 can 2SG.ACT:eat 3PL.POSS fruit
 ‘You can eat the fruit of all the trees that are inside this garden.’
 (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 2:16)

5.4 Oblique arguments and prepositional phrases

This section concerns oblique arguments and is relevant to the discussion of reduced transitivity that is addressed in §3.6. Throughout this section reference is also made to §3.6 as well as the properties of prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs (see §7.3).

A prepositional phrase (PP) introduces an oblique argument and is headed by a (verbal) preposition. Typically in the clause, PPs follow the main verb. In (11a-b), the PPs are headed by the goal-introducing preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’. In (11a), the PP follows the intransitive active verb *ban*. In (11b), the PP is part of a ditransitive construction where it follows the irregular active verb *dal* ‘3PL.ACT:get’ and the T argument noun *buku* ‘book’ and introduces the R argument.

- (11) a. *ku-ban* [*eg Timika*]_{PP} ...
 1SG.ACT-go GOAL Timika
 ‘I went to Timika ...’
- b. *Id dal buku [da-g kam]*_{PP}.
 3PL 3PL.ACT:get book 3PL.ACT-GOAL 1PL.EXCL
 ‘They gave us a book.’

There is a set of verbs which allow (verbal) prepositions to be elided. These verbs are then treated transitively. This phenomenon occurs with motion and positional verbs, which are presented in table 5.1. The list is non-exhaustive. I appeal to Kemmer’s checklist for middle semantics categories in order to characterize these verbs (1993: 267-270).

Table 5.1: Motion and positional verbs that can take unmarked obliques

Verb	English	Category
<i>afol</i>	‘ascend’	‘translational motion’ (i.e., ‘motion with reference to a path’)
<i>ban</i>	‘go’	
<i>bar</i>	‘leap’	
<i>jamor</i>	‘walk’	
<i>lug</i>	‘descend’	
<i>sin</i>	‘go toward’	
<i>tabrer</i>	‘stand’	‘change in body posture’ or ‘positional’
<i>talar</i>	‘sit’	

When a (verbal) preposition which introduces a goal or source is elided in a clause, the main verb of the clause is treated as a transitive verb. The previously oblique R or T argument is then treated as a P argument. There does not appear to be any significant change in meaning when a (verbal) preposition is elided. Further investigation is required. The following examples illustrate instances where (verbal) prepositions are elided resulting in unmarked obliques.

Compare (12a-b). In (12a), the verbal preposition *jel* ‘toward’ (see §7.3.8) introduces the oblique goal *kei faten* ‘tree branch’. In (12b), the elision of *jel* means that *afol* ‘ascend’ is treated as a transitive verb with *kei nane* ‘the tree’ as its P argument. There is a slight difference in meaning as indicated by the English free translation. With *jel* in (12a), *kei faten* ‘tree branch’ seems to be the goal of the motion of climbing whereas *kei nane* ‘the tree’ in (12b) is the object itself being climbed.

(12) a. *gwau il nane a-afol jel kei faten*
 child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend **toward** wood/tree stick
 ‘the boy climbed up toward the tree branch’

b. *tara nane nag a-afol kei nane*
 dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT-ascend wood/tree PROX.SG.ANI
 ‘the dog wanted to climb the tree’

With the verb of motion *ban* ‘go’ (see §7.3.13), there does not appear to be a change in meaning when the (verbal) preposition introducing an oblique argument is elided. Perhaps this has to do with the lexical semantics of the transitive verb *ban* ‘go’, which encodes both motion and direction toward a goal. Compare (13a-b). With the absence of the directional verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ (see §7.3.4) in (13b), the sense of direction toward a goal is still made evident by the lexical semantics of the transitive verb *ban* ‘go’. This hypothesis requires further investigation as there may be more at work here.

- (13) a. *Ku-ban eg rai.*
 2SG.ACT-go **GOAL** land
 ‘I’m going to the forest.’
- b. *Ku-ban rai.*
 1SG.ACT-go land
 ‘I am going to the forest.’

As noted in §3.6.6, the verb *bar* ‘leap’ lexically requires the intransitivizing prefix *r-*. *Bar* ‘leap’ can be treated transitively when its verbal preposition is elided. In such cases, *bar* ‘leap’ still requires the intransitivizing prefix *r-*. I have very few examples of *bar* ‘leap’ in my data. Compare (14a-b). In (14a), the verbal preposition *fei* ‘SRC’ (see §7.3.7) introduces the oblique source argument *id sasal* ‘their bed’. In (14b), its absence means that *bar* ‘leap’ is treated as a transitive verb with *sel* ‘kind of rock edge’ as its P argument. *Bar* ‘leap’, like other verbs of motion, can occur with different (verbal) prepositions introducing goal or source arguments. In (14c), *bar* ‘leap’ occurs with the verbal preposition *jel* ‘toward’, which introduces the goal *sien* ‘below’. Presumably, interpreting whether or not the unmarked oblique is a goal or a source argument is dependent upon the discourse context. In (14b) for instance, the speaker interpreted the elided verbal preposition as introducing a source as opposed to a goal.

- (14) a. *da-r-bar fei id sasal*
 3PL.ACT-INTR-leap **SRC** 3PL.POSS bed
 ‘they leapt from their bed’
- b. *da-r-bar sel*
 3PL.ACT-INTR-leap rock.edge.ko
 ‘they leapt from the rock edge’
- c. *A-r-bar jel sien.*
 3SG.ACT-INTR-leap **toward** below
 ‘He leapt to the ground.’

Compare (15a-b) for the motion and manner verb *jamor* ‘walk’. Similar to *ban* ‘go’ described above, there does not appear to be a change in meaning when the (verbal) preposition introducing an oblique clause is elided. This is perhaps due in part to the lexical semantics of the verb. In (15a), the directional verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ introduces the oblique goal *burom* ‘littoral zone’. Despite the absence of *eg* ‘GOAL’ in (15b), the sense of goal is still evident.

- (15) a. *ku-jamor eg burom*
 1SG.ACT-walk **GOAL** littoral.zone
 ‘I walked to the littoral zone’

- b. *Ang ku-jamor Benjuring.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-walk Benjuring
 ‘I am walking to Benjuring.’

Compare (16a-b) for the motion verb *lug* ‘descend’. In (16a), the verbal preposition *jel* ‘toward’ introduces the oblique argument *sien* ‘below’. In (16b), its absence means that both *afol* ‘ascend’ and *lug* ‘descend’ are treated as transitive verbs with *fugfugar tarai* ‘some small hills’ as their shared P argument. As with the discussion pertaining to *afol* ‘ascend’ above, there appears to be a slight change in meaning depending on the presence or absence of the verbal preposition. With the presence of *jel* in (16a), *sien* ‘below’ is the goal of the motion of descending. In contrast, *fugfugar tarai* ‘some small hills’ in (16b) are the objects themselves being ascended and descended.

- (16) a. *gwau nane a-lug jel sien*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-descend **toward** below
 ‘the child got down’
- b. *a-afol a-lug fug~fugar tarai*
 3SG.ACT-ascend 3SG.ACT-descend RDP~hill some
 ‘it [the ball] goes up and down some small hills’

Compare (17a-b) for the motion and direction verb *sin* ‘go toward’ (see §7.3.12). In (17a), the verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ introduces the oblique argument *ken lef* ‘his house’. In (17b), the absence of the verbal preposition means that *sin* ‘go toward’ is treated as a transitive verb with *fanu i* ‘a village’ as the P argument. With the absence of *eg* ‘GOAL’ in (17b), the sense of direction toward a goal is still made evident by the lexical semantics of the verb *sin* ‘go toward’.

- (17) a. *da-sin eg ken lef...*
 3PL.ACT-go.toward **GOAL** 3SG.POSS house
 ‘they went to his house ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 19:7)
- b. *Mer i, Yesus a-sin fanu i...*
 day INDEF Jesus 3SG.ACT-go.toward village INDEF
 ‘One day, Jesus went to a village ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 19:1)

As discussed above in §3.6.6, the positional verbs *tabrer* ‘stand’ and *talar* ‘sit’ optionally, but frequently, occur with the prefix *r-* as intransitive verbs. These verbs are halfway between verbs which can take the prefix *r-* and those which take the prefix *r-* obligatorily. Unlike *bar* ‘leap’, *tabrer* ‘stand’ and *talar* ‘sit’ do not typically take the intransitivizing prefix *r-* when occurring with an oblique argument or when treated transitively. In (18a), the verbal preposition *jel* ‘toward’ introduces the oblique argument *kei ken juei* ‘the side of a tree’ and *talar* does not take

the intransitivizing prefix *r-*. In (18b), a verbal preposition is absent and *talar* ‘sit’ is treated transitively with *keiran i* ‘a branch’ as its P argument. Note that *talar* ‘sit’ does not take the intransitivizing prefix *r-* in (18b).

- (18) a. *gwau nane a-talar jel kei ken juei*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-sit **toward** wood/tree 3SG.POSS side
 ‘the child sat down at the side of a tree’
- b. *pot i a-talar keiran i*
 pot INDEF 3SG.ACT-sit tree.branch INDEF
 ‘a pot is sitting in a tree branch’

Tabrer ‘stand’ is similar in that the prefix *r-* does not usually occur when the verb is treated transitively, as in (19a). However, it may still occur even when *tabrer* ‘stand’ is treated transitively, as in (19b).⁶⁸ Perhaps *tabrer* ‘stand’ is further along in lexicalizing its use of the prefix *r-* than *talar* ‘sit’.

- (19) a. *Botel i-en a-tabrer ngael Abel.*
 bottle INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-stand basket.ko inside
 ‘A bottle is standing up in the basket.’
- b. *Botel i-en a-r-tabrer ngael Abel.*
 bottle INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand basket.ko inside
 ‘A bottle is standing up in the basket.’

5.5 Negation

There are four negation markers in Batuley: *komo* ‘NEG’ (§5.5.1), *foyet* ‘NEG’ (§5.5.2), *teneg* ‘NEG.INCEP’ (§5.5.3) and *narat* ‘NEG.INCEP’ (§5.5.4). *Komo* and *teneg* are used to negate verbs, while *foyet* and *narat* are used in yes/no questions, responses and statements where their scope of negation is understood from the context of discourse. I do not have a great deal of information about nominal negation due to a lack of data. I address nominal negation where relevant in §5.5.1.

5.5.1 *Komo* ‘NEG’

Komo ‘NEG’ is the most common negation marker. It inverts the meaning expressed by the verb that it precedes. It is usually translated as ‘not’ or ‘do not’ in English. *Komo* is positioned left of the verb immediately after an overt S/A argument NP or pronoun (if present) and before a

⁶⁸ Unfortunately, I do not have any examples of *tabrer* ‘stand’ occurring with a (verbal) preposition.

MOD₂ position clause modifier (if present), as represented in figure 5.1. See §5.8 for the position of clause modifiers. (20a-c) illustrate the use and position of *komo* within a clause.

(NP/PRON)	(NEG)	(MOD ₂)	VERB
-----------	-------	---------------------	------

Figure 5.1: Position of negation marker *komo* ‘NEG’ within a clause

- (20) a.

NEG	AGR _A -V	P
[komo da-ja ra]		CL _{AUSE}
NEG	3PL.ACT-say	speech

‘they are not speaking’

- b.

S				NEG	AGR _S -V
<i>engmen [tamata ner ken jertai komo a-fan]</i>					CL _{AUSE}
CONJ	person	NVIS.SG.ANI	3SG.POSS	clothing	NEG 3SG.ACT-fall

‘but that person’s clothing did not fall off’

- c.

A	NEG	MOD ₂	V	P
<i>[Ang komo ti kug manam]</i>				CL _{AUSE}
1SG	NEG	PFV	1SG.ACT:eat	food

‘I have not eaten yet.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

There is some indication that *komo* ‘NEG’ is used in nominal negation. I have a few examples in my corpus where *komo* is used in conjunction with the noun *moni* ‘something’ to express the meaning ‘nothing’. In (21a-c), *komo* might be analyzed as forming part of non-verbal predicates, as simply negating the noun *moni* or as forming part of a lexicalized expression where *komo moni* means ‘nothing’. Because the phenomenon of nominal negation occurs only with the noun *moni* ‘something’ in my corpus, I believe *komo moni* is a lexicalized expression. Further investigation is required.

- (21) a.

<i>Ja nag, “Komo moni!”</i>
CONJ 3SG.ACT:want/say NEG something

‘So he said, “No problem!”’
- b.

<i>Lim abel ales eg komo moni a-mei.</i>
hand/arm inside empty CONJ NEG something 3SG.ACT-stay

‘Her hand is empty because there is nothing in it.’
- c.

<i>eg a-it komo moni a-mei</i>
CONJ 3SG.ACT-see NEG something 3SG.ACT-stay

‘then he saw that nothing was in it’

5.5.2 Foyet ‘NEG’

Foyet 'NEG' (and its allomorph *foet* 'NEG') inverts the meaning expressed by the clause that it precedes or that it refers to. *Foet* is a truncation used in rapid speech. *Foyet* is often used in yes/no questions and in response to them. In questions, it functions as a sentence-final question tag, as in (22a). Similarly, in responses, it functions as a negative response marker whose full scope is understood from the context of discourse, as in (22b-c). It is usually translated as 'no' or 'not' in English. Note that *komo* 'NEG' is required as the negation marker in the explanatory clauses which follow *foet* in (22b-c). See also §5.5.1 above.

- (22) a. [*Nam* *tonger*]_{CLAUSE} *se* [*foyet*]_{CLAUSE}?⁶⁹
 3SG.ACT:cause/do right CONJ NEG
 ‘Did he give permission or not?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. *Ja*, [*foet*]_{CLAUSE} [*komo nal fusing*]_{CLAUSE} ...
 CONJ NEG NEG 3SG.ACT:get care
 ‘So, no, he doesn’t care ...’
- c. [*Foet*]_{CLAUSE} [*kaem komo bis mi-oi*]_{CLAUSE} ...
 NEG 2PL NEG can 2PL.ACT-die
 ‘No, you cannot die ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 3:4-5)

5.5.3 *Teneg* ‘NEG.INCEP’

The negative inceptive marker *teneg* ‘NEG.INCEP’ along with its allomorphs *tene* ‘NEG.INCEP’ and *ten* ‘NEG.INCEP’ is used to negate verbs. The allomorphs of *teneg* are truncations used in rapid speech. *Teneg* indicates that the action or event encoded by the verb has not (yet) occurred. When used in imperatives, it indicates a desire or command that the action or event encoded by the verb should not be carried out or take place. It is usually translated as ‘(do) not (yet)’ in English. (23a-d) illustrate the use of *teneg* within clauses. *Teneg* is positioned left of the verb. I have one example of *teneg* occurring in a clause with a pronoun, (23a). In it, the allomorph *tene* is positioned to the right of the pronoun. (23c-d) illustrate the use of *teneg* in imperative clauses. Refer also to §5.6 on imperatives.

- (23) a. A NEG V P
 [Kaig *tene* *muf* *bed*]_{CLAUSE} *eg* [kaig komo *tongr-ug*]_{CLAUSE}
 2SG NEG.INCEP 2SG.ACT:carry machete CONJ 2SG NEG right:SG/3PL-2SG.PAT
 ‘You will not carry a machete because you are not completely conscious.’
 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁶⁹ Originally *fóvet* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

- b. [En tanda]_{CLAUSE} tuen [teneg nam gongon]_{CLAUSE}.
 MED.SG.INA sign CONJ NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do commotion
 ‘That was a sign (to show him) not to make any noise.’
- d. Ja [a-taw<e>r nag]_{CLAUSE} “[Ten nam
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-call<3SG.ANL.PAT> 3SG.ACT:want/say NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do
 P
 gongon]_{CLAUSE}!”
 commotion
 ‘Then he said to him, “Don’t make any noise!”’
- e. [Teneg mu-ja ra mu-ngei enon]_{CLAUSE}.
 NEG.INCEP 2SG.ACT-say speech 2SG.ACT-toward MED.SG.INA
 ‘Do not speak in that way.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 23:40)

5.5.4 *Narat* ‘NEG.INCEP’

Narat ‘NEG.INCEP’, along with its allomorph *nara* ‘NEG.INCEP’, functions as a negative inceptive marker for the meaning expressed by the clause that it precedes or that it refers to. As an allomorph of *narat*, *nara* is a truncation used in rapid speech. *Narat* is used in yes/no questions and in response to them. In questions, it functions as a sentence-final question tag. In responses, it functions as a negative response marker whose full scope is understood from the context of discourse. *Narat* is used to indicate that an action or event has not yet or has never been performed. It is usually translated as ‘not yet’ or ‘no’ in English. In (24a-c), *narat* is used as a sentence-final question tag. For an appropriate negative response to such questions, it is sufficient to simply say *narat* ‘not yet’. *Teneg* ‘NEG.INCEP’ is required if an additional explanatory clause containing a notion of negative inception is expressed (see §5.5.3 above).

- (24) a. [Kaig mo-r-tau]_{CLAUSE} se [nara]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-marry CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Are you married or not yet?’
- b. [Mu-rengar dir id ben]_{CLAUSE} se [narat]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG.ACT-hear DIST.PL 3PL.POSS news CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Have you heard any news from them or not yet?’
- c. [Kaig mug manam]_{CLAUSE} se [narat]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG 2SG.ACT:eat food CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Have you eaten or not yet?’

5.6 Imperatives

Batuley verbs are not morphologically marked for the imperative. Imperative and declarative constructions have the same argument ordering as illustrated in (25a-b). (25a) has an imperative reading, while (25b) has a declarative reading. Imperatives emphasize the final stressed syllable in the clause. In addition to this, the uninflected active verb *mai* ‘come’ or the imperative marker *bia* ‘IMP’ may precede the verb in an imperative construction. All examples of *mai* are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). (26a-c) illustrate the use of the uninflected active verb *mai* ‘come’ as an imperative marker. I have two examples of *bia* ‘IMP’, both of which only appear in my own data. They are presented in (27a-b).

(25) a. *Tag manam!*
1PL.INCL:eat food
‘Let’s eat!’

b. *Tag manam.*
1PL.INCL:eat food
‘We are eating.’

(26) a. ***Mai*** *ma-afol jel lef!*
come 1PL.INCL.ACT-ascend toward house
‘Come into the house!’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:28)

b. ***Mai*** *ta-el ram~rambi ...*
come 1PL.INCL.ACT-do RDP~busy
‘Let’s celebrate ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:32)

c. ***Mai*** *mol on.*
come 2SG.ACT:get PROX.SG.INA
‘Take this.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

(27) a. ***Bia*** *kanang fu je bar nal sanang.*
IMP 1SG.POSS spirit⁷⁰ 3SG.ACT:get happiness
‘Let me rest a bit.’

b. ***Bia*** *kanang fu je bar a-talar ken taruan.*
IMP 1SG.POSS spirit 3SG.ACT-sit 3SG.POSS place
‘Let me rest a bit.’

⁷⁰ *Fu je bar* ‘spirit’ is a parallelism which literally means ‘heart and lungs’. Refer to §4.10.2 for a discussion of the semantic and grammatical properties of parallelisms.

(28) a. *tene* *mu-jaman* *gwau* *nen*
NEG.INCEP 2SG.ACT-ask child MED.SG.ANI
'do not ask that child' (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

b. *teneg* *mi-bedar*
NEG. INCEP 2PL.ACT-afraid
'do not be afraid' (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Mt 14:27)

c. *teneg* *mug* *ken* *fui*
NEG.INCEP 2SG.ACT:eat 3SG.POSS fruit
'do not eat its fruit' (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 2:17)

Batuley uses yes-no questions (§5.7.1) and *wh*-questions (§5.7.2) in forming interrogative sentences. This section covers the basics of interrogative sentence formation. Further investigation is greatly required, particularly with natural speech data.

Yes-no questions are questions for which a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ is an appropriate response. In Batuley, yes-no questions are characterized by sentence-final rising intonation with the conjainer *se* ‘or’ (see §4.10.4), and the negation marker *foyet* ‘NEG’ (see §5.5.2) or *narat* ‘NEG.INCEP’ (see §5.5.4) positioned sentence-finally. This is illustrated in (29a-b).

- ⁷¹ Originally *fóyet* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

Se ‘or’ can be used on its own as a sentence-final confirmation question tag when the negation marker *foyet* ‘NEG’ or *narat* ‘NEG.INCEP’ is elided. In this context, *se* is positioned sentence-finally with rising intonation, as in (30).

- (30) *Idafon ru-ei da-ban da-tbe kaling, se?*
 yesterday two-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT-go 3PL.ACT-cast.out fishing.line CONJ
 ‘Yesterday, both of them went out fishing, right?’

The interjection *ai* ‘INTERJ’ can be used similarly to *se* ‘or’ as a sentence-final confirmation question tag. In (31), *ai* appears at the beginning of the utterance, functioning as an interjection meaning ‘hey’, and sentence-finally as a confirmation question tag.

- (31) *Ai, ku-rengar ... oh ... Jonias e dini da-ftultul jel*
 INTERJ 1SG.ACT-hear INTERJ NAME CONJ PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-serious toward
mangar one, ai?
 fish.sp PROX.SG.INA INTERJ
 ‘Hey, I hear that ... oh ... Jonias’ family is serious about the grouper fish, you know?’

5.7.2 Wh-questions

Questions that use interrogative markers, such as the English ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘why’ which stand in for the argument in question and specify the requested information, are commonly called *wh*-questions. Batuley forms *wh*-questions with interrogative markers (§5.7.2.1) and complex interrogative constructions (§5.7.2.2).

5.7.2.1 Interrogative markers

Batuley interrogative markers are pronominal in that they occupy an argument slot. Table 5.2 lists the interrogative markers I have identified from my corpus and is followed by a brief discussion of each. Note that there are two interrogatives for ‘who’ depending on whether the referent is singular or plural.

Table 5.2: Interrogative markers

Interrogative	English
<i>inat</i>	‘who’ (sg.)
<i>abai</i>	‘who’ (pl.)
<i>baren</i>	‘when’
<i>ob</i>	‘where’
<i>ula</i>	‘what’

5.7.2.1.1 *Inat* ‘who.SG’

Inat ‘who.SG’ is the singular interrogative marker for ‘who’. It can occur in clause-initially or clause-finally depending on which argument slot it occupies. In (32a), *inat* occurs clause-initially and occupies the A argument slot. In (32b), it occurs clause-finally and occupies the P argument slot. In (32c), it heads an NP relative clause construction. In (32d), *inat* occurs clause-initially and replaces the possessor of an alienable possessive construction. Due to a lack of data, I do not have an example of *inat* occupying the stative S and active S argument slots.

- (32) a.

A	AGR _A -V	P
<i>Inat</i>	<i>a-nai</i>	<i>awei?</i>
who.SG	3SG.ACT-cook	rice
‘Who (sg.) cooked the rice?’		

 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b.

A	AGR _A -V	P
<i>Tamata dire</i>	<i>da-mael</i>	<i>inat?</i>
person	DIST.PL	3PL.ACT-laugh who.SG
‘Who (sg.) are those people laughing at?’		

- c.

N _{HEAD}	RC
<i>Inat</i>	<i>a-da~dawar tara neno?</i>
who.SG	3SG.ACT-RDP~hit dog MED.SG.ANI
‘Who (sg.) is it that is hitting?’	

 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- d.

A	AGR _A -V	P
<i>Inat</i>	<i>ken tor je?</i>	
who.SG	3SG.POSS	chicken PL
‘Whose (sg.) chickens are those?’		

 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.7.2.1.2 *Abai* ‘who.PL’

Abai ‘who.PL’ is the plural interrogative marker for ‘who’. I do not have any occurrences of *abai* in my own data. It occurs in (Pszczolka n.d.-a) in clause-initial position, occupying the S argument slot, as in (33a), and heading an NP relative clause construction, as in (33b).

- (33) a.

S	AGR _S -V
<i>Abai</i>	<i>da-mai?</i>
who.PL	3PL.ACT-come
‘Who (pl.) is coming?’	

 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b.

N _{HEAD}	RC
<i>Abai</i>	<i>da-da~dawar tara?</i>
who.PL	3PL.ACT-RDP~hit dog
‘Who (pl.) is it that is hitting a dog?’	

 (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.7.2.1.3 *Baren* ‘when’

I do not have any examples of *baren* ‘when’ in my own data. There is one clear example of it in Pszczolka (n.d.-a), which is presented in (34). In it, *baren* occurs clause-initially where it appears to stand in for an adverb of time (see §5.8.1).

- (34) *Baren minal fai?*
when 2PL.ACT:get exit
 ‘When do you want to leave?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.7.2.1.4 *Ob* ‘where’

Ob ‘where’ is the interrogative marker used in locational information requests. It appears clause-finally. It occupies the P argument slot where it encodes a location, as in (35a), a source, as in (35b), or a goal, as in (35c). The marker of emphasis, *te* ‘EMPH’, often follows the interrogative marker *ob*, as in (35c).

- (35) a.

A	V	P
<i>Kaig kam</i>	<i>lef am</i>	<i>ob?</i>
2SG 2SG.POSS	house3SG.ACT:be.at	where
‘Where is your house?’		
- b.

A	V	P
<i>Kaig mom-ban</i>		<i>ob?</i>
2SG 2SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC		where
‘Where are you coming from?’		
- c.

A	AGR _A -V	P	
<i>E, laes-kem</i>	<i>mi-ban</i>	<i>ob</i>	<i>te?</i>
INTERJ three-2PL.INCL	2PL.INCL-go	where	EMPH
‘Hey, where are you three going?’			

In Pszczolka (n.d.-a), there are also two examples of *ob* ‘where’ occurring clause-finally as the argument of a PP. I present these examples in (36a-b). In (36a), *ob* is the argument of the goal-introducing verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ (see §7.3.4). *Eg ob* means ‘to where’. In (36b), *ob* is the argument of the source-introducing verbal preposition *fei* ‘SRC’ (see §7.3.7). *Fei ob* means ‘from where’.

- (36) a. *Muf nor eno eg ob te?*
 2SG.ACT:carry coconut MED.SG.INA **GOAL where** EMPH
 ‘Where are you taking that coconut?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b. *Muf* *nor* *eno* *fei* *ob* *te?*
 2SG.ACT:carry coconut MED.SG.INA SRC **where** EMPH
 ‘From where are you carrying that coconut?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.7.2.1.5 *Ula* ‘what’

Ula ‘what’ appears clause-finally as an interrogative marker where it functions pronominally, occupying the P argument slot, as in (37a-b). It can also be the head of an NP, as in (37c) where it occupies the N_{HEAD} position of an NP. *Ula* can also be used in requesting information about a noun. (37d-e) are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). I do not know the syntactic function of *ula* in terms of which argument position it occupies in these interrogative constructions. It may be possible to analyze *ula* in these examples as functioning predicatively, particularly if there is a noticeable pause between *ula* and the clause occurring before it. Unfortunately, I do not have the recordings of these example sentences. Further investigation is required here.

- A AGR_A-V P
 (37) a. *Kaig mu-el* *ula?*
 2SG 2SG-do **what**
 ‘What are you doing?’
- AGR_A-V P
 b. *Mu-nei* *ula?*
 2SG-cook **what**
 ‘What are you cooking?’
- c. *Ja a-fla* [*ken* *bog*]_{NP} *se* [*ken* *ula*]_{NP} ...
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-go.down 3SG.POSS canoe CONJ 3SG.POSS **what**
 ‘So he got into his canoe or his whatever (it is) ...’
- d. *Mu-ban* *fanu* *ula?*
 2SG.ACT-go village **what**
 ‘Which village are you going to?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- e. *Nai ken* *ngaran* *ula?*
 3SG 3SG.POSS name **what**
 ‘What is his name?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

Similarly to the interrogative marker *ob* ‘where’ as discussed above in §5.7.2.1.4, *ula* ‘what’ can occur clause-finally as the argument of a PP. *Ula* combines with the goal-introducing verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ (see §7.3.4) in order to indicate the purposive ‘why’ or ‘for what’ in clause-final position, as seen in (38a-c).

(38) a. *Ngom ses eg ula?*
 cloth severed GOAL what
 ‘Why was the cloth cut in half?’

b. *Keiran a-bat eg ula?*
 tree.branch 3SG.ACT-break GOAL what
 ‘Why did the tree branch break?’

c. ... *kaig mu-belmage eg ula?*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-angry GOAL what
 ‘... why are you angry?’ or ‘... what are you angry at?’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:28)

5.7.2.2 Complex interrogative constructions

I use the term complex interrogative construction to refer to an interrogative construction composed of more than one word and where one of the component words does not appear to occur on its own. I have identified two complex interrogative constructions in Batuley: *kabe ob* ‘how many’ (§5.7.2.2.1) and the serial *-el -ngab* ‘how’ (§5.7.2.2.2).

5.7.2.2.1 *Kabe ob* ‘how many’

The complex interrogative construction *kabe ob* is composed of the interrogative markers *kabe* ‘QST’ and *ob* ‘where’. In my data, *kabe* only occurs in conjunction with *ob*, I therefore gloss it simply as ‘QST’ for ‘question marker’ because of its function in forming a complex interrogative. The combined meaning of *kabe* and *ob* is ‘how many’, as illustrated in (39a-d). *Kabe ob* can be truncated to *kab ob*, as in (39d). *Kabe ob* usually appears clause-finally in a request for additional information about a noun. However, it can occur within a clause, as in (39d). Note the presence of the marker of emphasis *te* ‘EMPH’ in (39c-d). As was noted above in §5.7.2.1.4, *te* ‘EMPH’ often follows the interrogative marker *ob*.

(39) a. *Gogobu din kabe ob?*
 child PROX.PL QST where
 ‘How many children are there?’

b. *Kaig kam taon⁷² kabe ob?*
 2SG 2SG.POSS year QST where
 ‘How old are you?’

(Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁷² In my own data, *taon* means ‘star’ while *taung* means ‘year’.

c. *Lef enon ken susun kabe ob te?*
house MED.SG.INA 3SG.POSS level QST where EMPH
‘How many stories does that house have?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

d. *Gwangal kab ob te dam eno?*
cuscus QST where EMPH 3PL.ACT:be.at MED.SG.INA
‘How many cuscuses are there?’

5.7.2.2.2 -*el -ngab* ‘how’

The complex interrogative construction *-el -ngab* is composed of the active verb *el* ‘do’ and particle *ngab*. Both these items take prefixation that agrees with the S/A argument of the clause. *Ngab* might be analyzed as a verbal preposition that takes person-number inflection and that occurs in a serial construction following the active verb *el* (see §7 for serial verbs and related constructions). However, I choose to analyze it as a particle that takes agreement prefixation because it only occurs in conjunction with *el* ‘do’ and does not have a clear meaning. I tentatively gloss it as ‘how’. The complex interrogative construction *-el -ngab* ‘how’ functions as the main serial-like verb construction in a clause, as seen in (40a-d). Note that *ael angab* is frequently used in the common greeting ‘how is it going?’ as illustrated in (40a). In (40b), the greeting includes the adverb of time *mer on* ‘today’ (see §5.8.1.10). In (30c), the complex interrogative functions as the main serial-like verb construction and takes the aspect marker *ti* ‘PFV’ (see §5.8.2.8). In (40d), it agrees in person and number with the plural S argument NP *gwau je kodar* ‘(your) child and wife’.

(40) a. *A-el a-ngab?*
3SG.ACT-do 3SG.ACT-how
‘How is it going?’

b. *A-el a-ngab mer on?*
3SG.ACT-do 3SG.ACT-how day PROX.SG.INA
‘How is it going today?’

c. *Onen a-el a-ngab ti?*
PROX.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-do 3SG.ACT-how PFV
‘How did this happen?’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:12)

S AGR_S-V AGR_S-PARTICLE
d. [*Gwau je kodar*]_{NP} *da-el da-ngab?*
child CONJ female 3PL.ACT-do 3PL.ACT-how
‘How are (your) child and wife?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

The complex interrogative construction *-el -ngab* ‘how’ frequently occurs in the 3SG – that is, as *ael angab* – even when one might expect it to occur with different person-number agreement. This is illustrated in (41) where *-el -ngab* occurs with 3SG agreement prefixation even though the 1PL.EXCL is present as the A argument in the following clause. I analyze cases like (41) as complex constructions where *ael angab* constitutes a separate clause that is juxtaposed to another clause.

- (41) [A-*el* *a-ngab*]_{CLAUSE} [*kam* *bis* *ma-ban* *ma-goil* *manam*]_{CLAUSE}
 3SG.ACT-do 3SG.ACT-how 1PL.EXCL can 1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-buy food
 eg [*mam* *tamata rifun* *lim* *dag* *manam*]_{CLAUSE}?
 CONJ 1PL.EXCL.ACT:cause/do person thousand five 3PL.ACT:eat food
 ‘How can we go buy food to feed 5000 people?’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 9:13)

5.8 Clause modifiers

Batuley has a variety of clause modifiers. Clause modifiers are items that contribute to the temporal, aspectual and modal framework of a clause or that provide information about the manner in which an action or event occurs. Clause modifiers are adjuncts in the sense that they add information to a syntactically complete proposition. Figure 5.2 represents the possible positions of clause modifiers within an utterance. Clause modifiers typically occur at clause boundaries. In clause-initial position, the clause modifier occurs preverbally and occupies the modifier 1 (MOD₁) slot. In clause-final position, the clause modifier occurs postverbally and occupies the modifier 3 (MOD₃) slot. Clause modifiers can also occupy the modifier 2 (MOD₂) slot, which is immediately before the verb and follows the negation marker and the S/A argument NP or pronoun, if present. If there is no negation marker and S/A argument NP or pronoun present then MOD₁ and MOD₂ clause modifiers are virtually indistinguishable because they both occur preverbally. For this reason, I do not make a distinction between MOD₁ and MOD₂ when describing the attested position of a clause modifier in the tables in the sub-sections to come.

(MOD ₁)	(NP/PRO)	(NEG)	(MOD ₂)	VERB	(NP)	(PP)	(MOD ₃)
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Figure 5.2: Clause modifier template

It is possible for more than one clause modifier to occur in an utterance. In (42), the adverb of time *fis onen* ‘tonight’ and the modal adverb *kuregan* ‘maybe’ both occur preverbally, modifying the same clause.

- (42) *Fis* *onen* *kuregan* *nag* *guon barang faf* *dedem*
 night PROX.SG.INA maybe 3SG.ACT:want/say rain CONJ nature dark
 a-ig.
 3SG.ACT-INTS
 ‘Tonight maybe there will be rain because it is very dark out.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

Clausal modifiers will be discussed in the following sub-sections: adverbs of time (§5.8.1), aspectual adverbs (§5.8.2), modal adverbs (§5.8.3) and adverbs of manner (§5.8.4). Where possible, I provide information regarding the syntactic positioning of the clause modifier. This section in particular is highly tentative due to the lack of natural speech and narrative text data. In this section, I aim to summarize my own preliminary observations, present findings from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) that are not in my own data and, in doing so, highlight areas for future research.

5.8.1 Adverbs of time

Batuley is a tenseless language – that is, tense is not indicated morphologically on verbs. Instead, Batuley makes use of temporal markers which establish a time reference for the clause. Temporal markers situate the action or event indicated by the verb within a temporal framework relative to the deictic centre – such as the temporal reference point in which the utterance is spoken. These temporal markers are usually nouns or NPs, but I label them as adverbs because they function as modifiers of verbal clauses. Table 5.3 presents a non-exhaustive list of Batuley adverbs of time and is followed by examples illustrating their use. There are likely more adverbs of time that I have yet to come across. I indicate in which syntactic positions the adverbs of time have been attested in my corpus. *Ir* ‘earlier’ is a past tense marker that only occurs in conjunction with other adverbs of time. I address its use below in the discussions pertaining to the relevant adverbs of time with which it occurs.

Table 5.3: Adverbs of time

Adverb of Time	English	Attested Syntactic Position	
		Preverbal	Postverbal
<i>amer</i>	‘day after tomorrow’	✓	
<i>barian</i>	‘later’; ‘then’		
<i>fis</i>	‘night’	✓	✓
<i>gwarwenar</i>	‘day before yesterday’		
<i>gwarjor</i>	‘late afternoon’	✓	
<i>idafon</i>	‘yesterday’	✓	✓
<i>inar</i>	‘tomorrow’	✓	✓
<i>ir</i>	‘earlier’	✓	✓
<i>magrerei</i>	‘a long time ago’	✓	
<i>mererei</i>	‘early morning’	✓	
<i>mer</i>	‘day’	✓	✓
<i>ongang</i>	‘now’	✓	
<i>sakarang</i>	‘now’		✓

5.8.1.1 *Amer* ‘the day after tomorrow’

Amer ‘the day after tomorrow’ does not occur in my own data in an example sentence, but it did occur in a word list elicitation session during fieldwork. There is one example sentence containing *amer* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a). It is presented in (43). Note that *amer* in this example occurs preverbally in the MOD₁ slot. Furthermore, in this example *amer* appears to occur in conjunction with the sequential marker *ja* ‘SEQ’ (see §5.8.2.2). I am uncertain of the function of *ja* ‘SEQ’ here. For a similar phenomenon, see the discussion pertaining to *angei ja* ‘sometimes’ where *ja* ‘SEQ’ occurs in conjunction with the habitual aspect marker *angai* ‘HAB’ (see §5.8.2.1).

- (43) *Amer* *ja* *id* *dag* *da-ban* *Dom.*
day.after.tomorrow SEQ 3PL 3PL.ACT:want/say 3PL.ACT-go Dobo
 ‘The day after tomorrow, they are going to Dobo.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.1.2 *Barian* ‘later’ or ‘then’

Barian ‘later’ or ‘then’ does not occur in my own data. It appears in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) but lacks a clear example sentence. From the English, Indonesian and Czech translations available in Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it appears to be an adverb of time rather than an aspectual adverb or a conjoiner. Despite the lack of data, I choose to mention *barian* here because it may be relevant for future investigation.

5.8.1.3 *Fis* ‘(at) night’

The noun *fīs* ‘night’ can be used as an adverb of time. In (44), it occurs preverbally. (44) is the only example from my corpus where the noun *fīs* ‘night’ functions as an adverb of time while not occurring with a demonstrative.

- (44) *Fis, gwau nane a-tur ken tara, da-it gweingarngar*
night child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-see frog
i-en am toples ken abel.
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:be.at jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘At night, there was a child with his dog, they were looking at a frog that was inside a jar.’

Fis 'night' can occur in conjunction with a demonstrative. In this type of construction, the demonstrative has the deictic function of specifying a point in time. The combined noun and demonstrative form an NP which functions as an adverb of time. In my corpus, this adverb of time occurs preverbally, as in (45). In (45), *fis* occurs with the demonstrative *on* 'PROX.SG.INA'. The NP *fis on* means 'tonight'.

- (45) a. *Fis on nam lur⁷³ ja jig je dal.*
night PROX.SG.INA 3SG.ACT:cause/do calm CONJ fish PL 3PL.ACT:get
 ‘Tonight is calm so there is fish for the taking.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

Fis on ‘tonight’ can occur in conjunction with the past tense marker *ir* ‘earlier’. The co-occurrence of these items functions as an adverb of time and means ‘last night’ or ‘the night before’. In my data, *ir fis on* ‘last night’ occurs at clause boundaries. In (46a), it occurs clause-initially and in (46b) it occurs clause-finally.

- (46) a. *Ir fis on, ang ku-ban burom*
earlier night PROX.SG.INA 1SG 1SG.ACT-go littoral.zone
ku-senter jig je mir.
 1SG.ACT-shine.flashlight fish CONJ crab
 ‘Last night, I went to the littoral zone to catch fish and crab.’
- b. *Ang ku-it far-un ir fis on.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-go search-3SG.ANI.PAT **earlier night PROX.SG.INA**
 ‘I looked for him last night.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.1.4 *Gwarwenar* ‘the day before yesterday’

Gwarwenar ‘the day before yesterday’ occurred in a word list elicitation session I conducted during fieldwork, but unfortunately, I do not have an example sentence illustrating its use. Despite the lack of data, I choose to mention it here because it may be relevant for future investigation.

5.8.1.5 *Gwarjor* ‘late afternoon’

Gwarjor ‘late afternoon’ does not occur in my own data in an example sentence, but it did occur in a word list elicitation session during fieldwork. There is one example of *gwarjor* functioning as an adverb of time in Pszczolka (n.d.-a). It is presented in (47) where it occurs preverbally.

- (47) *Gwarjor mu-ban mu-goil⁷⁴ mol awei i.*
late.afternoon 2SG.ACT-go 2SG.ACT-buy 2SG.ACT:get rice INDEF
 ‘In the late afternoon you will go buy a (sack of) rice.’

5.8.1.6 *Idafon* ‘yesterday’

Idafon ‘yesterday’ occurs preverbally in the MOD₁ slot in (48a) and preverbally in the MOD₂ slot in (48b). In (48c) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it occurs in clause-final position in the MOD₃ slot.

⁷³ Originally *namlur* (as one word) in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁷⁴ Originally *mugóél* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

- (48) a. *Idafon, ru-kom ma-ban ma-tbe kaling.*
yesterday two-1PL.EXCL.ANI 1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-cast.out fishing.line
 ‘Yesterday, the two of us went fishing.’
- b. *Id idafon da-ban Dom.*
 3PL **yesterday** 3PL.ACT-go Dobo
 ‘Yesterday, they went to Dobo.’
- c. *Ang bula-ing⁷⁵ ku-ig idafon.⁷⁶*
 1SG tired-1SG.STV 1SG.ACT-INTS **yesterday**
 ‘I was very tired yesterday.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.1.7 *Inar* ‘tomorrow’

Inar ‘tomorrow’ occurs preverbally in (49a-b). In (49b) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it occurs in the MOD₂ slot. In (49c) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), *inar* occurs postverbally in clause-final position.

- (49) a. *Inar, ta-ban rai.*
tomorrow 1PL.INCL.ACT-go land
 ‘Tomorrow, we are going to the forest.’
- b. *Kaig inar mu-ban eg gutan.*
 2SG **tomorrow** 2SG.ACT-go GOAL garden
 ‘Tomorrow you are going to the garden.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- c. *Ang ku-ban eg Gwatle⁷⁷ inar.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-go GOAL Batuley **tomorrow**
 ‘I am going to Batuley village tomorrow.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.1.8 *Magrerei* ‘a long time ago’

Magrerei ‘a long time ago’ occurs in my data as a noun. In (50) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it appears to occur in the MOD₂ slot as an adverb of time if we analyze *id* ‘3PL.POSS’ as functioning predicatively. Further investigation is required.

- (50) *Tamata magregrei id kirkir je mangarti job a-ig.*
 person **long.time.ago** 3PL.POSS thoughts⁷⁸ good 3SG.ACT-INTS
 ‘People a long time ago had a good understanding (of things).’

⁷⁵ Originally *bulain* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁷⁶ Originally *idafon* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁷⁷ Originally *gwatlei* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

⁷⁸ *Kirkir je mangarti* ‘thoughts’ is a parallelism which literally means ‘thought and understanding’. Refer to §4.10.2 for a discussion of the semantic and grammatical properties of parallelisms.

5.8.1.9 *Mererei* ‘early morning’

Mererei ‘early morning’ occurs once in my data as an adverb of time where it appears preverbally in the MOD₁ slot. This is illustrated in (51).

- (51) *Mererei*, *gwau* *nan* *a-tur* *ken* *tara da-wangar ...*
 early.morning child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-wake.up
 ‘Early in the morning, the child and his dog woke up ...’

5.8.1.10 *Mer* ‘day’

Mer ‘day’ occurs with various demonstratives where it functions as an adverb of time. It occurs at clause boundaries, either clause-initially or clause-finally. In my corpus, *mer* does not occur on its own as an adverb of time in the same way that *fis* ‘night’ does, as seen in §5.8.1.3 above. In the following examples, note how the deictic function of the demonstratives contributes to framing the temporal reference of the adverb of time. In (52a), *mer* occurs with the demonstrative *en* ‘MED.SG.INA’ to form the NP *mer en* ‘one day (in the past)’ or ‘that day’, which functions here as a clause-initial adverb of time. In (52b), *mer* occurs with *on* ‘PROX.SG.INA’ to form the NP *mer on* ‘today’, which functions here as a clause-final adverb of time. In (52c), *mer* occurs with *er* ‘NVIS.SG.INA’ to indicate a day in the past. *Mer* can also occur with the indefinite *i* (see §4.6) to form a NP that functions as an adverb of time, as in (52d).

- (52) a. *Mer en*, *ku-ban* *eg* *Timika ...*
 day MED.SG.INA 1SG.ACT-go GOAL Timika
 ‘One day (in the past), I went to Timika ...’
- b. *A-el* *a-ngab* *mer on?*
 3SG.ACT-do 3SG.ACT-how **day** PROX.SG.INA
 ‘How is it going today?’
- c. *Ja* *mer er* *a-r-tawar ...*
 CONJ **day** NVIS.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-INTR-call
 ‘So that day, she called ...’
- d. *Mer i*, *Yesus* *a-sin* *fanu* *i ...*
 day INDEF Jesus 3SG.ACT-go.toward village INDEF
 ‘One day, Jesus went to a village ...’

5.8.1.11 *Ongang* ‘now’

Pszczolka (n.d.-a) lists *ongang* ‘now’ as having two allomorphs: *ungan* and *ongan*. *Ongang* and its allomorphs do not occur in my own data. (53a-b) illustrate the use of *ongang* and *ungan*. *Ongan* does not occur in an example sentence in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) but is listed as occurring in the optional form *ongan onen* for the NP adverb of time *ungan onen* ‘now’ or ‘at this moment’.

(53) a. *Ongang tamata da-el jingei.*
now person 3PL.ACT-do something
 ‘Now people are doing/making something.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

b. *Nai ungan am lef.*
 3SG **now** 3SG.ACT:be.at house
 ‘He is at home now.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.1.12 Sakarang ‘now’

Sakarang ‘now’ is a borrowing from Malay.⁷⁹ It occurs once in my data, where it occupies clause-final position and appears with the demonstrative *on* ‘PROX.SG.INA’, as illustrated in (54).

(54) *Nei ah ... a-jel ibu guru am Timika Papua ere,*
 3SG INTERJ 3SG.ACT-toward Mrs. teacher 3SG.ACT:be.at Timika Papua DIST.SG.INA
sangeleng taung uruplaes ti sakarang on.
 almost year thirty PFV **now** **PROX.SG.INA**
 ‘She became a teacher in Timika (in) Papua over there, almost thirty years already now.’

5.8.2 Aspectual adverbs

Aspectual markers provide information with regard to the flow of time of the action or event expressed by the verb in relation to the present. They indicate, for instance, whether or not an action or event is complete or still in progress. Table 5.4 presents a list of Batuley aspectual adverbs and is followed by examples illustrating their use. I indicate in which syntactic positions the aspectual adverbs have been attested in my corpus.

Table 5.4: Aspectual adverbs

Aspectual Adverb	English	Attested Syntactic Position	
		Preverbal	Postverbal
<i>angai</i>	habitual ‘HAB’	✓	
<i>ja</i>	sequential ‘SEQ’	✓	
<i>laoteng</i>	near future ‘NEAR.FUT’	✓	
<i>ma</i>	imminent ‘IMM’		✓
<i>naontui</i>	imperfective ‘IPFV’	✓	
<i>oramen</i>	inceptive ‘INCEP’	✓	
<i>tarus</i>	continuous ‘CONT’		✓
<i>ti</i>	perfective ‘PFV’	✓	✓
<i>tufei</i>	‘always’		

⁷⁹ As noted in §1.1.6, I do not discuss in detail Malay borrowings and code-switching in Batuley because it is a complex issue which goes beyond the scope of this introductory grammar sketch. Nevertheless, I briefly discuss *sakarang* in this sub-section because of its relevance to the discussion of adverbs of time.

5.8.2.1 *Agai* ‘HAB’

Agai indicates habitual aspect. It expresses how often an action or event occurs with some degree of frequency, ranging from ‘now and then’ to ‘often’. *Agei* and *angai* are allomorphs of *agai*. *Agei* appears to be the result of vowel dissimilation of the final /a/ vowel to /e/. (55a) illustrates the use of *agai*, where it occurs preverbally. (55b) illustrates the use of *agei*, where it also occurs preverbally before *arbafaer* ‘(s/he) sneezes’. (55c) illustrates the use of *angai*, where it occurs preverbally and in the MOD₁ slot. It appears as if *angai* can occur in conjunction with the sequential aspect marker *ja* ‘SEQ’ (see §5.8.2.2). The sequence expresses the habitual aspect, meaning ‘sometimes’. In the sequence, *angai* undergoes vowel dissimilation to *angei*, as seen in (55d-e). In (55d), *angei ja* occurs in the MOD₁ slot. In (55e), *angei ja* occurs in the MOD₂ slot.

- (55) a. *Agai*, *ku-it* *matfui*, *au* *la*, *au* *tai*, *balulu*.
 HAB 1SG.ACT-see sea.cucumber snake sea snake sea.water starfish
 ‘Now and then, I would see sea cucumber, sea snakes, saltwater snakes (and) starfish.’
- b. *Gwau* *nere* *mangur-un* *ja* *agei* *a-r-bafaer*.
 child DIST.SG.ANI have.runny.nose-3SG.ANI.STV CONJ HAB 3SG.ACT-INTR-sneeze
 ‘That child over there has a cold and often sneezes.’
- c. *Angai* *ang* *ku-ban* *la*.
 HAB 1SG 1SG.ACT-gosea
 ‘I often go to sea.’
- d. *Angei* *ja* *tamata* *da-fei* *ngaran* *dag*, “*rumah* *semi*
 HAB SEQ person 3PL.ACT-say name 3PL.ACT:want/say house semi
 permanen”.
 permanent
 ‘Sometimes people call it a semi-permanent house.’
- e. *Tarei* *angei* *ja* *da-fei* *ngaran* *kum* *dinon* *dag*,
 some HAB SEQ 3PL.ACT-say name stone MED.PL 3PL.ACT:want/say
 “*kum~kum kali*” ...
 RDP~stoneriver
 ‘Some (people) sometimes call those stones “river stones” ...’

5.8.2.2 *Ja* ‘SEQ’

Ja ‘SEQ’ is a sequential aspect marker and occurs preverbally in the MOD₁ slot, as seen in (56a-b). It indicates that the action or event expressed by the verb follows a sequence. *Ja* also functions as a conjoiner meaning ‘and then’ or ‘so’ where it shares a similar function of expressing a sequential or consecutive relationship (see §6.2.2.2). As a sequential aspect marker,

ja also occurs in conjunction with other clause modifiers. See §5.8.1.1 and §5.8.2.1 for relevant discussions of this phenomenon.

- (56) a. *Tuf i ja a-r-na tuf i.*
 generation INDEF SEQ 3SG.ACT-INTR-teach generation INDEF
 ‘From one generation to another.’ (lit. ‘One generation then teaches one generation.’)
- b. *i-en ja a-dawar i-en a-ig lim ...*
 INDEF-3SG.ANI SEQ 3SG.ACT-hit INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-use hand/arm
 ‘one hits the other with her hand ...’

5.8.2.3 *Laoteng* ‘NEAR.FUT’

Laoteng appears to be a prospective aspect adverb which signals that the action or event expressed by a verb will occur in the near future. I therefore gloss it as ‘NEAR.FUT’. *Laoteng* does not occur in my own data. It occurs in (Pszczolka n.d.-a) and is illustrated in (57) where it occurs preverbally in the MOD₂ slot.

- (57) *Ang laoteng ku-ban.*
 1SG NEAR.FUT 1SG.ACT-go
 ‘I will go soon.’ (Pszczolka, n.d.-a)

5.8.2.4 *Ma* ‘IMM’

The immediate aspect marker *ma* ‘IMM’ signals the intention or desire to carry out the action or event expressed by the verb immediately after and/or before some other action or event. *Ma* always occurs clause-finally, as indicated in (58a-b).

- (58) a. *Ku-jamor ma.*
 1SG.ACT-walk IMM
 ‘I am going for a walk now.’
- b. *Ang ku-muil ma.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-return IMM
 ‘I am going home now.’

5.8.2.5 *Naontui* ‘IPFV’

The imperfective aspect marker *naontui* ‘IPFV’ indicates that the action or event expressed by the verb is on-going. It occurs preverbally in the MOD₁ slot in (59a) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). In (59b) from my own data, *naontui* appears to function predicatively. Further investigation is required.

- (59) a. *Jig neno naontui eir~air-in?*⁸⁰
 fish MED.SG.ANI IPFV RDP~live-3SG.ANI.STV
 ‘Is that fish still alive?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. [*Kaleilai ken kalei ken fin a-lfai*]_{CLAUSE} *eng*
 small.lemon.sp 3SG.POSS skin/body 3SG.POSS side/part 3SG.ACT-exit CONJ
 [*fin naontui*]_{CLAUSE}
 side/part IPFV
 ‘A part of the orange peel came off but a part was still there.’

5.8.2.6 *Oramen* ‘INCEP’

The inceptive marker *oramen* ‘INCEP’ indicates a recent change of state or the beginning of a new action or event. In the two examples I have, it appears preverbally. In (60a) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it occurs in the MOD₂ slot. I do not know why the conjoiner *men* is present in (60a). It may be a typographical error and/or some borrowed variation of the Indonesian prefix *meng* which occurs with *kenal* as *mengenal* ‘to be acquainted with’ in standard Indonesian. It appears that *oramen* can also be used to mean ‘only’ or ‘merely’ in the same way that the English inceptive marker ‘just’ can be used for this function. This is illustrated in (60b). Further investigation is required to verify these functions and determine the scope of this adverbial marker.

- (60) a. *Ang oramen men kanal tamata neno.*
 1SG INCEP CONJ know person MED.SG.ANI
 ‘I just met that person.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. *Oramen mog ‘Dobel’ se?*
 INCEP 2SG.ACT:want/say Dobel CONJ
 ‘You can just say ‘Dobel’, right?’

5.8.2.7 *Tarus* ‘CONT’

The continuous aspect marker *tarus* ‘CONT’ is a borrowing from Malay.⁸¹ It indicates that an action is on-going. It appears to occur in clause-final position, but it may also be possible to analyze it as forming part of a serial verb construction where it occurs as the second verb or verb-like item (see §7 for a discussion of serial verbs). Further investigation is required. (61a-b) illustrate its use.

⁸⁰ I am uncertain of the phonological behaviour of the reduplication pattern in this example, which differs from the reduplication patterns described in §2.8. Vowel dissimilation (§2.2.2.4) is at work, but without access to the recording, I do not address this reduplication pattern in §2.8.

⁸¹ As noted in §1.1.6, I do not discuss Malay borrowings and code-switching in Batuley in detail because it is a complex issue which goes beyond the scope of this introductory grammar sketch. Nevertheless, I briefly discuss *tarus* in this sub-section because of its importance as an aspectual adverb marker.

(61) a. *a-r-bauler* *nam* *tarus*
 3SG.ACT-INTR-roll 3SG.ACT:cause/do CONT
 ‘it [the ball] rolls along’

b. *Guon a-fan* *tarus*.
 rain 3SG.ACT-fall CONT
 ‘It keeps raining.’

(Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.2.8 *Ti* ‘PFV’

The perfective aspect marker *ti* ‘PFV’ indicates that the action or event expressed by the verb is completed. It can occur preverbally in the MOD₂ slot, as in (62a), or clause-finally in the MOD₃ slot, as in (62b).

(62) a. *ang komo ti ku-ban ...*
 1SG NEG PFV 1SG.ACT-go
 ‘before going ...’ or ‘I have not gone yet’

b. *Kaig mug manam er ti?*
 2SG 2SG.ACT:eat food NVIS.SG.INA PFV
 ‘Have you already eaten?’

5.8.2.9 *Tufei* ‘always’

Tufei ‘always’ does not occur in my own data. It is listed in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) where it appears to be a type of aspectual adverb. Despite the lack of data, I choose to mention it here because it may be relevant for future investigation.

5.8.3 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs are used to convey a degree of modality. Modality expresses the speaker’s attitude toward the utterance with regard to the possibility, necessity, condition or reason of the action or event occurring. Table 5.5 presents a list of Batuley modal adverbs and is followed by examples illustrating their use. I indicate in which syntactic positions the aspectual adverbs have been attested in my corpus.

Table 5.5: Modal adverbs

Modal Adverb	English	Attested Syntactic Position	
		Preverbal	Postverbal
<i>bis</i>	‘can’	✓	
<i>boleja</i>	‘hopefully’	✓	
<i>kuregan</i>	‘maybe’	✓	
<i>gorngai</i>	‘maybe’	✓	
<i>la</i>	‘if’	✓	✓
<i>lafui</i>	‘must’	✓	
<i>malikang</i>	‘must’	✓	

5.8.3.1 *Bis* ‘can’

The modal adverb *bis* ‘can’ is an adapted borrowing from the Indonesian/Malay *bisa* ‘can’.⁸² It indicates possibility or permission. *Bis* always occurs preverbally. (63a-b) illustrate its use.

- (63) a. *mer on komo bis ku-ban gutan*
 day PROX.SG.INA NEG **can** 1SG.ACT-go garden
 ‘today I cannot go to the garden’
- b. *Kai da-frang dam~dam gutan on ken abel,*
 tree 3PL.ACT-all RDP~3PL.ACT:be.at garden PROX.SG.INA 3SG.POSS inside
bis mug id fui.
can 2SG.ACT:eat 3PL.POSS fruit
 ‘You can eat the fruit of all the trees that are inside this garden.’
 (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 2:16)

5.8.3.2 *Boleja* ‘hopefully’

The modal adverb *boleja* ‘hopefully’ indicates the speaker’s desire for a particular outcome regarding the action or event expressed by the verb. It does not occur in my own data. (64) is from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). Note that *boleja* occurs preverbally.

- (64) **Boleja** *ku-ban ja ku-daf lofes.*⁸³
hopefully 1SG.ACT-go CONJ 1SG.ACT-acquire many
 ‘Hopefully, I will go and receive a lot.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁸² As noted in §1.1.6, I do not discuss in detail Malay borrowings and code-switching in Batuley because it is a complex issue which goes beyond the scope of this introductory grammar sketch. Nevertheless, I briefly discuss *bis* in this sub-section because of its importance as a modal adverb.

⁸³ Originally *lofes* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

5.8.3.3 *Kuregan* ‘maybe’

The modal adverb *kuregan* ‘maybe’ expresses uncertainty with regard to the outcome of the propositional content. Pszczolka (n.d.-a) lists *kure* as an allomorph of *kuregan*. Unfortunately, I do not have a clear example of its use. (65a) illustrates the use of *kuregan* in preverbal position. In (65b), *kuregan* appears to occur predicatively. There is a definite pause between the first clause and *kuregan*. The conjoiner *barang* ‘because’ links *kuregan* with the clause *damban fugar* ‘they come from hills’. Further investigation is required.

- (65) a. *Fis onen kuregan nag guon barang faf dedem*
 night PROX.SG.INA **maybe** 3SG.ACT:want/say rain CONJ nature dark
a-ig.

3SG.ACT-INTS

‘Tonight maybe there will be rain because it is very dark out.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b. *Tarei angei ja da-fei ngaran kum dinon dag,* “*kum~kum*
 some HAB SEQ 3PL.ACT-say name stone MED.PL 3PL.ACT:want/say RDP~stone
kali”, ***kuregan*** *barang dam-ban fugar ...*

river **maybe** CONJ 3PL.ACT:cause/do-SRC hill

‘Some (people) sometimes call those stones “river stones” maybe because they come from hills ...’

5.8.3.4 *Gorngai* ‘maybe’

Like *kuregan* ‘maybe’, the modal adverb *gorngai* ‘maybe’ expresses uncertainty with regard to the outcome of the propositional content. *Gorngai* does not occur in my own data, but does occur in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) with the example sentence presented in (66). Note that *gorngai* occupies the MOD₂ slot and that it co-occurs with the adverb of time *idafon* ‘yesterday’. Perhaps *gorngai* ‘maybe’ is different from *kuregan* ‘maybe’ in that it is used when an action or event has already taken place – that is, perhaps it occurs with a past tense reading of an utterance. With only one example sentence to go by, this is purely speculative.

- (66) *Kaem idafon gorngai mi-ban mi-tbe kaling.*⁸⁴
 2PL yesterday **maybe** 2PL.ACT-go 2PL.ACT-cast.out fishing.line

‘Maybe yesterday you went fishing.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.3.5 *La* ‘if’

La ‘if’ occurs preverbally as a conditional modal marker, as in (67a). *La* can also function as a clause conjoiner (see §6.2.2.13). There are two homophones of *la* ‘if’: the noun *la* ‘sea’ and the emphatic marker *la* ‘EMPH’, which is possibly a borrowing from Malay. From examples presented in Pszczolka (n.d.-a), it appears that *la* ‘if’ functions more as an aspectual marker of futurity than

⁸⁴ Originally *mitbé kalin* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

a modal marker of condition when occurring in clause-final position, as seen in (67b-c). This requires further investigation.

- (67) a. *La da-jamn-ug kodarbu on fanu on*
 if 3PL.ACT-ask:SG/3PL-2SG.PAT woman PROX.SG.INA village PROX.SG.INA
 ja mu-ingal eng kaig kam mau eg kodarbu ula?
 CONJ 2SG.ACT-refuse CONJ 2SG 2SG.POSS want GOAL woman what
 ‘If you’ve been asked about woman here in this village and you’ve refused, then what
 sort of women do you like?’

- b. *Ang kon la.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT:drink **if**
 ‘I will have something to drink.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- c. *Tamata a-oi*⁸⁵ *la.*
 person 3SG.ACT-die **if**
 ‘Someone will die.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.3.6 *Lafui* ‘must’

Lafui ‘must’ occurs preverbally in the MOD₂ slot as a modal adverb. *Lafui* ‘must’ indicates obligation. It does not occur in my own data. (68a-b) are from Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

- (68) a. *Kaem lafui mi-ban.*
 2PL **must** 2PL.ACT-go
 ‘You must go.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b. *Ang lafui ku-ban.*
 1SG **must** 1SG.ACT-go
 ‘I must go as soon as possible.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

5.8.3.7 *Malikang* ‘must’

Malikang ‘must’ occurs preverbally in the MOD₂ slot as a modal adverb, as seen in (69a-b). Like *lafui* ‘must’, *malikang* ‘must’ indicates obligation. It does not occur in my own data. Pszczolka (n.d.-a) lists *malikan* as an allomorph of *malikang*. Pszczolka (n.d.-a) also notes that the word *malikang* in Dobo Malay means *kecuali* or *hanya kalau* (‘except for’) in standard Indonesian and comes from standard Indonesian *melainkan* (‘on the contrary; on the other hand’). Pszczolka (n.d.-a) reports one occurrence of *malikan* used with its Dobo Malay meaning in a Batuley utterance.

⁸⁵ Originally *awoi* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

- (69) a. *Ang malikang ku-muil eg kanang tata fel*
 1SG **must** 1SG.ACT-return GOAL 1SG.POSS elder.sibling CONJ
am-ang.
 father-1SG.POSS
 ‘I must return to my older brother and father.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:18)
- b. *kaig malikang mu-el karja joi kam jabon a-r-tar*
 2SG **must** 2SG.ACT-do work CONJ 2SG.POSS sweat 3SG.ACT-INTR-flow
 ‘you must work until your sweat trickles down’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 3:19)

5.8.4 Adverbs of manner

Batuley has a few adverbs that indicate the manner in which the action or event expressed by the verb is carried out. Table 5.6 presents a list of Batuley adverbs of manner and is followed by examples illustrating their use. I indicate in which syntactic positions the adverbs occur in my corpus.

Table 5.6: Adverbs of manner

Adverb of Manner	English	Attested Syntactic Position	
		Preverbal	Postverbal
<i>lagari</i>	‘suddenly’	✓	
<i>sumen</i>	‘only’	✓	
<i>uteg</i>	‘also’	✓	✓

5.8.4.1 *Lagari* ‘suddenly’

Lagari ‘suddenly’ signals unexpectedness. It indicates a sudden change in events and occurs in clause-initial position. *Lagari* does not occur in my own data. It occurs a total of five times in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). In 80% (4/5) of the occurrences, it appears in conjunction with the sequential aspect marker *ja* (see §5.8.2.2) – which also functions as a conjoiner (see §6.2.2.2) – or the conjoiner *eng* (see §6.2.2.9). (70a-b) illustrates its use.

- (70) a. *Ang idafon⁸⁶ ku-jamor lagari ja ku-rengar tamata da-igar.*
 1SG yesterday 1SG.ACT-walk **suddenly** SEQ 1SG.ACT-hear person 3PL.ACT-fight
 ‘Yesterday, I was walking when suddenly I heard people fighting.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁸⁶ Originally *idafón* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

- b. *Id sumen da-r-tabrer dam tu~tut lagari eng*
 3PL only 3PL.ACT-INTR-stand 3PL.ACT:cause/do RDP~startle **suddenly** CONJ
tamata ru-ei da-r-tabrer id juei.
 person two-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT-INTR-stand 3PL.POSS side

‘They just stood there amazed when suddenly two people stood beside them.’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:4)

5.8.4.2 *Sumen* ‘only’

The adverb of manner *sumen* ‘only’ occurs preverbally in the MOD₂ slot when modifying a verbal clause, as in (71a). See also (70b) above for another example of this. However, when modifying an NP, *sumen* directly precedes the NP, as in (71b).

- (71) a. *Ang sumen ku-it tamata et-un.*⁸⁷
 1SG **only** 1SG.ACT-see person one-3SG.ANI
 ‘I only saw one person.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

- b. *sumen [ken tulag raun je fel janom raun je]_{NP} da-ig*
only 3SG.POSS hole leaf PL CONJ door leaf PL 3PL.ACT-use
kei kolau
 wood/tree pine.sp
 ‘only its windows and doors use white-yellow pine wood’

5.8.4.3 *Uteg* ‘also’

Uteg ‘also’ is an adverb of manner which occurs in the MOD₂ and MOD₃ slots. *Ut* ‘also’ is an allomorph of *uteg* and occurs in rapid speech. In (72a), *ut* occurs in the MOD₃ slot. In (72b), *uteg* occurs in the MOD₂ slot.

- (72) a. *Ma-ju jig je, fei ma-nai mir je ut.*
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-slice fish PL CONJ 1PL.EXCL.ACT-cook crab PL **also**
 ‘We sliced up the fish, and we also cooked the crab.’

- b. *Nai uteg nam tamata da-daf~daf saki job-ei.*
 3SG **also** 3SG.ACT:cause/do person 3PL.ACT-RDP~acquire sickness good-3PL.STV
 ‘He also made sick people better.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 9:11b)

I have two examples from my data where *eg* appears to function as a allomorph of *uteg* in the MOD₂ slot. I present these examples in (73a-b). I tentatively analyze *eg* in these examples as a variant of *uteg*. *Eg* more commonly functions as a goal-introducing verbal preposition or clause conjoiner (see §6.2.2.7 and §7.3.4).

⁸⁷ Originally *et un* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

(73) a. *ja ken tara eg a-lai a-ur-ui*
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog **also** 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.ACT-follow-3PL.PAT
 ‘and his dog also ran after them’

b. *Gwau nane eg a-afol jel kei ken fufun.*
 child PROX.SG.ANI **also** 3SG.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The child also climbed up on top of the log.’

6 Clause combining

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the mechanisms used to combine verbal clauses. Clause conjoining is outlined in §6.2. A few introductory remarks on complementation are presented in §6.3.

6.2 Clause conjoining

Verbal clauses can be conjoined either through juxtaposition (§6.2.1) or through the use of a clause conjoiner (§6.2.2).

6.2.1 Juxtaposition

Verbal clauses can be conjoined by juxtaposition. In (1a-c) the verbal clauses (separated by parentheses []_{CLAUSE}) do not form serial verb constructions (see §7). A short pause occurs between them (represented by a comma). The clauses are linked by juxtaposition.

- (1) a. *ja* [a-tur-en]_{CLAUSE}, [da-mei]_{CLAUSE}, [a-r-tau
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-with-3SG 3PL.ACT-stay 3SG.ACT-INTR-marry
nal-en]_{CLAUSE} ...
 3SG.ACT:get-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘then he was with her (and) they stayed there (and) he married her ...’

- b. [*Nal* *ken* *kefeng*]_{CLAUSE}, [*a-ban* *eg fanu i*
 3SG.ACT:get 3SG.POSS money 3SG.ACT-go GOAL village one
am *ja~ja*]_{CLAUSE}.
 3SG.ACT:be.at RDP~far
 ‘He received his money (and) went to a faraway village.’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:13)

- c. [*Mo-r-tabrer* *fei kam taruan*]_{CLAUSE}, [*mu-mai*
 2SG.ACT-INTR-stand from 2SG.POSS place 2SG.ACT-come
mo-r-tabrer *je<ru>ruei onen*]_{CLAUSE} ...
 2SG.ACT-INTR-stand <RDP>middle PROX.SG.INA
 ‘Stand up from your place (and) come stand in the middle ...’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 6:8)

6.2.2 Clause conjoiners

Batuley has a large number of conjoiners which link verbal clauses. Clause conjoiners do not take person-number inflection (except for one possible exception). The verbal preposition *eg* (see

§7.3.4) may be used as a multi-functional conjoiner and does not take person-number inflection when functioning as such. The preposition *jowoi* (§ 7.3.2) also functions as a conjoiner. Table 6.1 presents a list of verbal clause conjoiners and their functions. It is followed by examples and a discussion of each conjoiner.

Table 6.1: Clause conjoiners

Conjoiner	English	Function
<i>fel</i>	‘and’; ‘with’	additional/comitative
<i>ja</i>	‘and then’; ‘so’	sequential/consequential
<i>jowoi</i>	‘until’	
<i>men</i>	‘then’	
<i>se</i>	‘or’	alternative
<i>tuen</i>	‘(in order) to’	purposive
<i>eg</i>	‘(in order) to’; ‘because’	purposive; comitative; reason/causality
<i>engmen</i>	‘but’	contrastive
<i>eng</i>	‘but’; ‘then’	contrastive; sequential/consequential
<i>barang</i>	‘because’	reason/causality
<i>nekola</i>	‘because’	
<i>afat</i>	‘because’	
<i>la</i>	‘if’	conditional

6.2.2.1 *Fel* ‘and’ or ‘with’

Fel ‘and’ or ‘with’ expresses a relationship of addition and comitativity between verbal clauses and is positioned between clause boundaries. In addition to occurring between verbal clauses, *fel* appears frequently as a conjoiner of nouns and NPs (see §4.10.3). *Fei* is an allomorph of *fel* caused by lenition of the final lateral /l/ to the semivowel /j/. *Fei* is homophonous with the allomorph *fei* of the source-introducing verbal preposition *fai* ‘SRC’ (see §7.3.7). *Fel* and *fei* do not occur frequently as conjoiners of verbal clauses in my corpus. (2a-b) illustrate the clearest examples of their use from my corpus.

- (2) a. *Engmen* [*ken* *murid* *je* *dam* *sir*<*jan*>*jan*]_{CLAUSE} *fel*
 CONJ 3SG.POSS disciple PL 3PL.ACT:cause/do <RDP>doubt CONJ
 [*da-bebar*] ...
 3PL.ACT-afraid
 ‘But his disciples were doubtful and afraid ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:37)
- b. [*Ma-ju* *jig* *je*]_{CLAUSE}, *fei* [*ma-nai* *mir* *je* *ut*]_{CLAUSE}.
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-slice fish PL CONJ 1PL.EXCL.ACT-cook crab PL also
 ‘We sliced up the fish, and we also cooked the crab.’

There is one example in my corpus of *fel* ‘and’ or ‘with’ occurring with person-number inflection while functioning as a conjoiner of verbal clauses. See also §4.10.3 for a similar discussion where *fel* occurs once with person-number inflection as a conjoiner of NPs. This is an exception because all other conjoiners do not occur with person-inflection. *Fel* is the only conjoiner which shows such behaviour. Note that *fel* in (3) occurs with 3SG prefixation, which is unusual given that the A argument of both verbal clauses is the 1PL.EXCL (indicated by the agreement prefix *ma-* ‘1PL.EXCL.ACT’ on the respective verbs). The presence of prefixation on *fel* / *fei* requires further investigation.

- (3) [Ma-sifn-ui]_{CLAUSE}, *a-fei* [ma-netag]_{CLAUSE} ...
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-sever:SG/3PL-3PL.PAT 3SG.ACT-CONJ 1PL.ACT-chisel
 ‘We cut them and we use a chisel ...’

6.2.2.2 *Ja* ‘and then’ or ‘so’

Ja ‘and then’ or ‘so’ expresses a sequential relationship between two verbal clauses, with one event occurring before the next, as in (4a-b). It is positioned between clause boundaries. *Ja* also appears to mark a consequential relationship between two verbal clauses. This is evident in a few examples from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), which are presented in (5a-b). Note that *ja* also functions as a sequential aspect marker (see §5.8.2.2).

Sequential:

- (4) a. [Ku-fai]_{CLAUSE} *ja* [ku-muil]_{CLAUSE}.
 1SG.ACT-exit CONJ 1SG.ACT-return
 ‘I went out and then I returned.’
- b. [Kodar nan *fei* *il* *nane* *da-sual* *ngom*]_{CLAUSE}, *ja*
 female PROX.SG.ANI CONJ male PROX.SG.ANI 3PL.ACT-grasp cloth CONJ
 [kodar nane *a-sifan* *ngom* *a-ig* *turug*]_{CLAUSE}.
 female PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-sever cloth 3SG.ACT-use knife
 ‘The woman and the man held a cloth, and then the woman cut the cloth with a knife.’

Consequential:

- (5) a. [Fis on *nam* *lur*]_{CLAUSE}⁸⁸ *ja* [jig je dal]_{CLAUSE}.
 night PROX.SG.INA 3SG.ACT:cause/do calm CONJ fish PL 3PL.ACT:get
 ‘Tonight is calm so there is fish for the taking.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)
- b. [Nai a-bebar]_{CLAUSE} *ja* [a-dibel]_{CLAUSE}.
 3SG 3SG.ACT-afraid CONJ 3SG.ACT-run.fast
 ‘He was afraid so he ran away quickly.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

⁸⁸ Originally *namlur* (as one word) in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

In the context of storytelling, *ja* often occurs at the beginning of a new sentence after a long pause. In this position, *ja* links the sentence it precedes with the previous clause, as in (6). Refer to the narrative text in §II.2 for further in-context examples.

- (6) **Ja** *a-taga af nungei.*
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-raise 3SG.ACT:carry face
 ‘Then he lifted his face up.’

6.2.2.3 *Jowoi* ‘until’

Jowoi ‘until’, which is often truncated to *joi*, functions as a verbal clause conjoiner to indicate that an activity is carried out until a certain point in time. It is positioned between clause boundaries. *Jowoi* also functions as a preposition to signal that an activity is carried out until a certain location is reached (see §7.3.2). (7a-c) illustrate its use as a conjoiner of verbal clauses. Note that the second clause in (7c) is composed of the stative verb of completion *fui* ‘complete’.

- (7) a. [*ma-susung ken tela*]_{CLAUSE} **joi** [*ma-plester*]_{CLAUSE}
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-put.together 3SG.POSS brick CONJ 1PL.EXCL.ACT-plaster
 ‘we built up its bricks until we added the plaster’
- b. [*Kaig mu-jamor*]_{CLAUSE} **joi** [*mo-r-jabon*]_{CLAUSE}
 2SG 2SG.ACT-walk CONJ 2SG.ACT-INTR-sweat
 ‘You walk until you sweat.’
- c. [*ma-el ken fufon*]_{CLAUSE} **joi** [*fui*]_{CLAUSE}
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-do 3SG.POSS roof CONJ complete
 ‘we make its roof until it is finished’

6.2.2.4 *Men* ‘then’

Men ‘then’ is related to *ja* ‘and then’ in function and meaning but it occurs less often in my corpus. It conjoins verbal clauses, is positioned between clause boundaries and indicates a sequential relationship. *Meng* is an allomorph of *men*, occurring only 7% (2/28) of the time while *men* occurs 93% (26/28) of the time in my corpus. *Men* and *meng* are illustrated in (8a-c).

- (8) a. [*Ku-jamor koi⁸⁹ ja*]_{CLAUSE}, **men** [*ku-daf jig je mir*]_{CLAUSE}
 1SG.ACT-walk small far CONJ 1SG.ACT-acquire fish CONJ crab
 ‘I walked a little ways, then I got some fish and crab.’

⁸⁹ *Koi* is a truncation of *sokoi* ‘small’.

- b. *Ja* [ku-jam~jamor joi tai a-af⁹⁰]_{CLAUSE}, *men* [ku-muil
 CONJ 1SG.ACT-RDP~walk CONJ sea.water 3SG.ACT-ascend CONJ 1SG.ACT-return
eg fanu]_{CLAUSE}.
 GOAL village
 ‘And so I walked along until high tide, then I went back to the village.’
- c. [*Kaig mo-r-ka<lag>lag-eg*]_{CLAUSE}, *meng* [ang ku-far-ug]_{CLAUSE}.
 2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-2SG.PAT CONJ 1SG 1SG.ACT-search-2SG.PAT
 ‘You hide, then I’ll look for you.’

6.2.2.5 *Se* ‘or’

The conjoiner *se* ‘or’ is used to link both verbal clauses and NPs (see §4.10.4). Although discussed under conjunction, *se* actually indicates disjunction. It contrasts two alternative clauses and is positioned between clause boundaries, as seen in (9a-b).

- (9) a. [*Ta-el job-job*]_{CLAUSE} *se* [*ta-el kat~kat*]_{CLAUSE}?
 1PL.INCL.ACT-do RDP~good CONJ 1PL.INCL.ACT-do RDP~bad
 ‘Should we do good or should we do bad?’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 6:9)
- b. [*Jig enon air-in*]_{CLAUSE} *se* [*a-oi⁹¹ ti*]_{CLAUSE}?
 fish MED.SG.INA live-3SG.ANI.STV CONJ 3SG.ACT-die PFV
 ‘Is the fish alive or has it already died?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

In my corpus, the second clause in a disjunctive construction is often simply a negation marker, such as *narat* or *nara* ‘NEG.INCEP’ in (10a-b), whose full scope is understood from the context of discourse. See §5.5.4 for more on the negation marker *narat* ‘NEG.INCEP’.

- (10) a. [*Kaig mo-r-tau*]_{CLAUSE} *se* [*nara*]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-marry CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Are you married or not yet?’
- b. [*Mu-rengar dir id ben*]_{CLAUSE} *se* [*narat*]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG.ACT-hear DIST.PL 3PL.POSS news CONJ NEG.INCEP
 ‘Have you heard any news from them or not yet?’

Se ‘or’ can be used as a discourse marker where it functions as a sentence-final confirmation question tag. The second clause and/or negation marker is elided entirely and *se* is positioned

⁹⁰ *Afoi* ‘ascend’ is an allomorph of *afol* ‘ascend’ caused by lenition of the final lateral /l/ to the semivowel /j/. In my corpus, *afol* usually occurs in the context of *tai afoi* ‘high tide’ (lit., ‘sea water ascending’) where initial stress is on *tai*.

⁹¹ Originally *awoi* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

sentence-finally with rising intonation, as in (11a-b). See also §5.7.1 on yes/no questions for a discussion of this.

- (11) a. [*Idafon ru-ei da-ban da-tbe kaling*]_{CLAUSE} *se?*
 yesterday two-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT-go 3PL.ACT-cast.out fishing.line CONJ
 ‘Yesterday, both of them went out fishing, right?’
- b. [*Oramen mog ‘Dobel’*]_{CLAUSE} *se?*
 INCEP 2SG.ACT:want/say Dobel CONJ
 ‘You can just say ‘Dobel’, right?’

6.2.2.6 *Tuen* ‘(in order) to’

Tuen ‘(in order) to’ introduces a purposive clause in a conjoined pair. It appears between the two clause boundaries, as in (12a-c). Note that in (12b), the clause *en tanda* is an equative clause (see §4.4.2.2). In two examples from my corpus, one of which is presented in (12c), *tuen* appears following the verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’, which also functions as a purposive marker (see §6.2.2.7). I attribute the repetition of purposive markers to the context of storytelling and discourse, which often sees repetition due to frequent pausing and restarting.

- (12) a. [*Ku-labar tagr-ung*]_{CLAUSE} *tuen* [*ku-rengar kom*
 1SG.ACT-widen ear-1SG.POSS CONJ 1SG.ACT-hear 1SG.ACT:cause/do
job~job]_{CLAUSE}.
 RDP~good
 ‘I opened my ears in order to hear well.’
- b. [*En tanda*]_{CLAUSE} *tuen* [*teneg nam gongon*]_{CLAUSE}.
 MED.SG.INA sign CONJ NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do commotion
 ‘That was a sign (to show him) not to make any noise.’
- c. [*Kuf ngaulul*]_{CLAUSE} *eg tuen* [*ku-dawar jig kom*
 1SG.ACT:carry bludgeon CONJ CONJ 1SG.ACT-hit fish 1SG.ACT:cause/do
da-oi]_{CLAUSE}.
 3PL.ACT-die
 ‘I brought a bludgeon in order to hit the fish dead.’

6.2.2.7 *Eg* ‘GOAL’ or ‘and’

Eg ‘GOAL’ functions as a verbal preposition introducing an oblique argument as a goal (see §7.3.4). As a conjoiner of verbal clauses, *eg* is multifunctional and is positioned between clause boundaries. It acts as a purposive and reason/causality marker (‘GOAL’) as well as a comitative marker (‘CONJ’). I gloss the purposive and reason/causality use of *eg* as ‘GOAL’ in the same way that I gloss the verbal prepositional function of *eg* (see §7.3.4) because the meanings indicated by

these functions are closely related. I gloss the comitative use of *eg* as ‘CONJ’ because it functions purely as a conjoiner in this context and is more closely related to the conjoiners *ja* (see §6.2.2.2) and *men* (see §6.2.2.4) in meaning and function. Refer to §8.2.1 for a brief discussion on how reduplication of active verbs when following *eg* ‘GOAL’ may be used as an indicator of subordination or nominalization.

In (13a-c), *eg* indicates a purposive relationship between verbal clauses that have the same subject (S/A arguments) and has the meaning ‘(in order) to’, ‘for’ or ‘so that’. (13c) contains two occurrences of *eg* ‘GOAL’. The first functions as a verbal preposition and the second (in boldface) functions as a conjoiner of verbal clauses.

- (13) a. [*Ku-sin*]_{CLAUSE} *eg* [*kol* *laur*]_{CLAUSE}.
 1SG.ACT-go.toward GOAL 1SG.ACT:get seagrass
 ‘I went (in order) to collect seagrass.’
- b. [*Gwau nan a-afol jel kum ken fufun*]_{CLAUSE} *eg*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward stone 3SG.POSS top GOAL
 [*a-brei a-far gweingarngar nane*]_{CLAUSE} ...
 3SG.ACT-call.out 3SG.ACT-search frog PROX.SG.ANI
 ‘The child climbed to the top of the rock in order to call out after the frog ...’
- c. [*a-muil eg id fanu*]_{CLAUSE} *eg* [*a-it ken*
 1SG.ACT-return GOAL 3PL.POSS village GOAL 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.POSS
jam je keiran]_{CLAUSE}
 sisters⁹²
 ‘he went back to their village (in order) to see his sisters’

In (14a-c) *eg* signals a reason or causality relationship between the verbal clauses and has the meaning ‘because’ or ‘for’. Different subjects (S/A arguments) are possible with this function of *eg*, as seen in (14a-b).

- (14) a. [*Keiran ses*]_{CLAUSE} *eg* [*il nane a-aor sifan*]_{CLAUSE}.
 tree.branch severed GOAL male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-cut sever
 ‘The tree branch was severed because this man cut it.’
- b. [*Lim abel ales*]_{CLAUSE} *eg* [*komo moni a-mei*]_{CLAUSE}.
 hand/arm inside empty GOAL NEG something 3SG.ACT-stay
 ‘Her hand is empty because there is nothing in it.’

⁹² *Jam je keiran* ‘sisters’ is a parallelism. *Keiran* means both ‘sister’ (ANI) and ‘tree branch’ (INA). *Jam* is not used on its own, and its meaning is no longer synchronically retrievable. Refer to §4.10.2 for a discussion of the semantic and grammatical properties of parallelisms.

- c. [Gwau il nane a-bebar]_{CLAUSE} **eg** [a-it karta
child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-afraid **GOAL** 3SG.ACT-see small.rodent
i-en a-etor fei tulag one]_{CLAUSE} ...
INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump SRC hole PROX.SG.INA
'The boy was frightened because he saw a small rodent jump out of the hole ...'

In (15a-c) *eg* indicates a comitative relationship between verbal clauses and has the meaning 'and'.

- (15) a. [ken tara a-talar]_{CLAUSE} **eg** [a-brai]_{CLAUSE}
3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-sit **CONJ** 3SG.ACT-call.out
'his dog sat down and called out'
- b. [botal las-i]_{CLAUSE} **eg** [i-en a-r-tabrer]_{CLAUSE}
bottle three-3PL.ANI **CONJ** INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand
'there are three bottles and one is standing upright'
- c. [ilbu ru-ei dini da-r-tabrer]_{CLAUSE} **eg** [da-bual]_{CLAUSE}
man two-3PL.ANI PROX.PL 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand **CONJ** 3PL.ACT-talk
'These two men are standing and having a conversation.'

6.2.2.8 Engmen 'but'

Engmen indicates a contrastive relationship between two verbal clauses in the sense of 'but', as seen in (16a-c). In each case *engmen* appears between clause boundaries.

- (16) a. [Ru-ei da-ja ra]_{CLAUSE} **engmen** [i-en komo
two-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT-speak speech **CONJ** INDEF-3SG.ANI NEG
nag a-rengar i-en]_{CLAUSE}
3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT-hear INDEF-3SG.ANI
'The two of them are talking but one does not want to listen to the other.'
- b. Ja [anen afar a-jo nam tanini]_{CLAUSE}, **engmen**
CONJ wind west.wind.season 3SG.ACT.blow 3SG.ACT:cause/do true **CONJ**
[tamata ner ken jertai komo a-fan]_{CLAUSE}
person NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.POSS clothing NEG 3SG.ACT-fall
'Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him.'⁹³

⁹³ This sentence is from a translation task of Aesop's fable 'The North Wind and the Sun'. The story was translated from Indonesian where *Angin Barat* 'West Wind' was used as a more culturally relevant term for the English 'North Wind'.

- c. [Ang *ku-mai*]_{CLAUSE} *engmen* [*id komo dam lef*]_{CLAUSE}
 1SG 1SG.ACT-come CONJ 3PL NEG 3PL.ACT:be.at home
 ‘I came but they were not at home.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

6.2.2.9 *Eng* ‘but’ or ‘then’

Eng has three functions. When indicating a contrastive relationship between two verbal clauses in the sense of ‘but’, *eng* is a truncation of *engmen* ‘but’ (see §6.2.2.8 above). (17a) illustrates this. However, unlike *engmen* ‘but’, *eng* also functions to signal sequential and consequential relationships between verbal clauses. This is often translated as ‘then’, ‘and’ or ‘so’. In (17b), *eng* indicates a sequential relationship. In (17c) it signals a consequential relationship between the first two clauses and the third. Note that in the third clause, *kam* ‘2SG.POSS’ functions predicatively (see §4.9.2 on the predicative use of alienable possessive morphemes). In the same vein of sequential meaning, *eng* is used as a numeral augment where I gloss it as AUG (see §4.5.1.1).

- (17) a. ... *ja* [*da-it toples ken abel*]_{CLAUSE}, *eng* [*gweingarngar*
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-see jar 3SG.POSS inside CONJ frog
ner a-etor a-lfai]_{CLAUSE}.
 NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump 3SG.ACT-exit
 ‘... and they looked inside the jar, but the frog had jumped out.’
- b. [*Gwau nan a-lug jel sien*]_{CLAUSE}, *eng* [*nal*
 child PROX.ANI.SG 3SG.ACT-descend toward below CONJ 3SG.ACT:get
ken tara a-fangaltug-un]_{CLAUSE} ...
 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-hug-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘The child got down, then he took his dog and hugged him ...’
- c. [*La da-jamn-ug kodarbu on fanu on*]_{CLAUSE} *ja*
 if 3PL.ACT-ask-2SG.PAT woman PROX.SG.INA village PROX.SG.INA CONJ
 [*mu-ingal*]_{CLAUSE} *eng* [*kaig kam mau eg kodarbu ula*]_{CLAUSE}?
 2SG.ACT-refuse CONJ 2SG 2SG.POSS want GOAL woman what
 ‘If you’ve been asked about woman here in this village and you’ve refused, then what sort of women do you like?’

6.2.2.10 *Barang* ‘because’

Barang is a borrowing from Malay which occurs only occasionally in my Batuley corpus.⁹⁴ It has many meanings in Malay. The following Malay meanings for *barang* have been attested in Batuley utterances: ‘thing’, ‘stuff’ or ‘something’; ‘maybe’ or ‘approximately’; ‘the problem (is)’

⁹⁴ As noted in §1.1.6, I do not discuss in detail Malay borrowings and code-switching in Batuley because it is a complex issue which goes beyond the scope of this introductory grammar sketch. Nevertheless, I briefly discuss *barang* in this sub-section because of its importance as a conjoiner of verbal clauses.

(when occurring in the fixed expression *je barang*); and ‘because’. In 42% (5/12) of occurrences in my corpus, *barang* functions as a conjoiner of verbal clauses where it introduces a reason clause. (18) illustrates this. Note the presence of other Malay borrowings in (18), including *memang* ‘indeed’ and the expression *esteng mati* from *setengah mati*, which literally means ‘half dead’.

- (18) [*Memang esteng mati ut*]_{CLAUSE} ***barang*** [*sumen ru-kom a-sen*
indeed half dead also CONJ only two-1PL.EXCL.ANI 3SG.ACT-alone
ma-el karja]_{CLAUSE}.
1PL.EXCL.ACT-do work
‘Indeed, it was really hard because only the two of us alone did the work.’

6.2.2.11 *Nekola* ‘because’

Nekola does not occur in my own data, perhaps because I have very few narrative texts. It is listed in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) as meaning ‘because’ and appears 18 times in sentences from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). Like *barang* ‘because’ (see §6.2.2.10 above), *nekola* introduces a reason clause in a pair of verbal clauses, as seen in (19).

- (19) [*Ang ko-r-ka<lag>lag-ang*]_{CLAUSE} ***nekola*** [*ang ko-r-loi*]_{CLAUSE}.
1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-1SG.PAT CONJ 1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-naked
‘I hid myself because I was naked.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Gn 3:10)

6.2.2.12 *Afat* ‘because’

Afat does not occur in my own data. It is listed in Pszczolka (n.d.-a) as meaning ‘because’ and appears in two example sentences from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), one of which is presented in (20). Like *barang* ‘because’ (see §6.2.2.10 above) and *nekola* ‘because’ (see §6.2.2.11 above), *afat* introduces a reason clause in a pair of verbal clauses.

- (20) [*Kam ma-muil*]_{CLAUSE} ***afat*** [*jig je komo dal*]_{CLAUSE}.
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-return CONJ fish PL NEG 3PL.ACT:get
‘We are returning home because there are no fish to be had / because the fish are not taking (the bait).’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

6.2.2.13 *La* ‘if’

La ‘if’ is a preverbal conditional modal adverb (§5.8.3.5). As a conditional modal adverb, it signals a conditional relationship between clauses and often appears in conjunction with the conjoiner *ja* ‘then’ to link the clauses, as in (21a). It can also occur on its own between two clauses to conjoin them. There are two homophones of *la* ‘if’: the noun *la* ‘sea’ and the emphatic marker *la* ‘EMPH’, which is possibly a borrowing from Malay.

- c. [*Kam mag*] [*ma-ban eg Benjuring*]_{COMPLEMENT}
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.ACT:want/say 1PL.EXCL.ACT-go GOAL Benjuring
 ‘We want to go to Benjuring.’ or ‘We will go to Benjuring.’

(23a-c) illustrate complementation with different subject complements – that is, where the S/A argument of the complement clause is different than the S/A argument of the first clause. I do not have examples of different subject complements for the irregular active verb *nag*, when meaning ‘want’.

- (23) a. [*Ang ku-rengar*] [*tara i-en a-brai*]_{COMPLEMENT}
 1SG 1SG.ACT-hear dog INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-call.out
 ‘I hear a dog barking.’
- b. [*a-it*] [*komo moni a-mei*]_{COMPLEMENT}
 3SG.ACT-see NEG something 3SG.ACT-stay
 ‘he saw that nothing was in it’
- c. [*Ang ku-tdod*] [*tamata nenon nin*]_{COMPLEMENT}
 1SG 1SG.ACT-look person MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:sleep/lie.down
 ‘I am looking at the person who is sleeping.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

(24a-c) illustrate that it is possible for the verbs which take complement clauses in table 6.2 to take an NP, a noun, a pronoun or a P pronominal suffix in the P argument slot instead of a complement clause. In (24a), *tdod* ‘look’ takes an NP in the P argument slot. In (24b), *nag* ‘3SG.ACT:want/say’ appears with a noun in the P argument slot. In (24c), *it* ‘see’ takes a pronoun in the P argument slot. In (24d), *rengar* ‘hear’ appears with a pronominal P suffix.

- (24) a. *a-tdod* [*kei ken tulag*]_{NP}
 3SG.ACT-look wood/tree 3SG.POSS hole
 ‘he looked inside the hole in the tree’
- b. *Nei nag* [*manam*]_{NOUN}
 3SG 3SG.ACT:want/say food
 ‘He wants some food.’
- c. *Nei a-it* [*kaem*]_{PRONOUN}
 3SG 3SG.ACT-see 2PL
 ‘He saw you.’

d. *Nei a-rengar-kom.*

3SG 3SG.ACT-hear-1PL.EXCL.PAT

‘He listens to us.’

7 Serial verbs and related constructions

7.1 Introduction

The line between serial verbs and prepositions in Batuley is blurry. This chapter provides an introductory discussion of serial verbs and related constructions which consist of verb-like prepositions. The chapter begins with some preliminary definitions (§7.2) before discussing prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs (§7.3). Serial verb constructions are widespread in Batuley. As a preliminary investigation, I limit my discussion to a small selection of serialization constructions: motion serialization (§7.4), resultative serialization (§7.5) and causative serialization (§7.6).

7.2 Terminological preliminaries

Batuley displays sequences of two to three verbs which constitute serial verb constructions. Aikhenvald (2006: 1) provides a definition of a serial verb construction, which will be used in this investigation:

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own. Without an SVC, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.

Batuley SVCs display these features. The following from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) illustrates an SVC made up of a stative verb and an active verb. The two verbs act as a single predicate which is conceptualized as a single event. The intonational properties of the sequence of verbs are the same as a monoverbal clause. The verbs share the perfective aspect marker *ti* ‘PFV’. The verbs also share the core argument *nai* ‘3SG’ which is shown by their 3SG agreement affixes.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| | V ₁ | V ₂ | |
| (1) | <i>Nai air-in</i> | <i>a-muil</i> | <i>ti.</i> |
| | 3SG live:SG/3PL:3SG.ANI.STV | 3SG.ACT-return | PFV |
| | ‘He is already alive again.’ | | (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 26:6) |

7.3 Prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs

7.3.1 Grammaticalization cline

As a result of grammaticalization (i.e., as verbs move toward being more preposition-like), the non-initial verb in an SVC frequently occurs without agreement affixation. Compare (2a-b). The second verb *fet* ‘split’ optionally occurs with the agreement prefix *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| | | V ₁ | V ₂ | |
| (2) | a. | <i>Kodar neno</i> | <i>a-gasar</i> | <i>a-fet ngom.</i> |
| | | female MED.SG.ANI | 3SG.ACT-tear | 3SG.ACT-split cloth |
| | | ‘That woman tore apart the cloth.’ | | |
| | b. | <i>Kodar neno</i> | <i>a-gasar</i> | <i>fet ngom.</i> |
| | | female MED.SG.ANI | 3SG.ACT-tear | split cloth |
| | | ‘That woman tore apart the cloth.’ | | |

In SVCs, each component verb can occur as an independent predicate. In addition to SVCs, Batuley displays sequences consisting of verbs and verbal prepositions. Verbal prepositions have verb-like features such as person-number inflection, but do not typically occur as independent predicates. Verbal prepositions introduce an argument with a peripheral role such as theme, instrument, location, goal or source. Prepositions do not head an independent clause or take another preposition. Verbal prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs exist along a cline of grammaticalization showing features consistent with verbs and prepositions. Presumably, verbal prepositions were once verbs and are in the process of grammaticalizing into prepositions. Batuley’s verbal prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs are tentatively presented in table 7.1 with the most preposition-like items located closer to the top along a cline of grammaticalization. An item is more verb-like if it:

- (i) permits person-number inflection;
- (ii) can act as an independent predicate;
- (iii) can take a preposition.

Some items which are higher up along the cline are more like grammaticalized prepositions because they do not display all or some of these verb-like features. This is certainly the case for *jowoi* ‘until’, which does not permit person-number inflection, cannot function as an independent predicate and cannot take a preposition (see §7.3.2).

For those verbal prepositions and argument-adding serial verbs which can take person-number inflection, table 7.2 illustrates what affixation is attested for each item in my data. Slots with a question mark indicate that I believe affixation is possible but that I lack the necessary data – especially texts and natural speech – to confirm my hypothesis. Most of the suffixes are the same

in form as P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (see §3.4.3), and all act similarly to P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs in that they are pronominal – that is, they do not co-occur with an overt argument pronoun or NP (see §3.4.5). However, there is at least one irregular affixation paradigm for verbal prepositions, that of *eg* ‘GOAL’.⁹⁶ Due to the preliminary nature of this analysis, I gloss verbal prepositional suffixes simply with their person-number (e.g., *-en* ‘3SG’) without reference to their ANIMACY or argument role.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 are followed by sub-sections dedicated to each verbal preposition and argument-adding serial. Further analysis of texts and natural speech is required to go beyond this introductory survey.

Table 7.1: Non-/verbal properties of verbal prepositions and serial verbs

↑ grammaticalization ↑	Most preposition-like		Person- number inflection	Independent predicate	Can take preposition
		<i>jowoi</i> ‘until’	X	X	X
		<i>ag</i> ‘about’	✓	X	X
		<i>eg</i> ‘GOAL’	✓	X	X
		<i>ig</i> ‘expel’	✓	X	X
		<i>ngei</i> ‘toward’	✓	X	X
		<i>fai</i> ‘SRC’	✓	✓	X
		<i>jel</i> ‘toward’ or ‘into’ (severing)	✓	✓	X
	Most verb-like	<i>tur</i> ‘with’	✓	✓	X
		<i>ig</i> ‘use’	✓	✓	X
		<i>glil</i> ‘around’	✓	✓	✓
		<i>sin</i> ‘(go) toward’	✓	✓	✓
		<i>ban</i> ‘go’	✓	✓	✓

⁹⁶ I do not address verbal preposition morpheme affixation in the morphophonology section of chapter 2 (see §2.7) because the analysis presented here is very tentative.

Table 7.2: Affixation on verbal prepositions and serial verbs

	Prefix	Suffix
<i>jowoi</i> ‘until’	X	X
<i>ag</i> ‘about’	X	✓
<i>eg</i> ‘GOAL’	✓	✓
<i>ig</i> ‘expel’	✓	X
<i>ngei</i> ‘toward’	✓	?
<i>fai</i> ‘SRC’	✓	✓
<i>jel</i> ‘toward’ or ‘into’	✓	?
<i>tur</i> ‘with’	✓	✓
<i>ig</i> ‘use’	✓	?
<i>glil</i> ‘around’	✓	X
<i>sin</i> ‘(go) toward’	✓	X
<i>ban</i> ‘go’	✓	X

7.3.2 *Jowoi* ‘until’

Jowoi ‘until’, which is often truncated to *joi*, does not occur with person-number inflection, cannot be an independent predicate and does not take a preposition. It introduces a locational argument, signalling that an activity is carried out until a certain location is reached. In (3a), *joi* follows the verb *ban* ‘go’ and introduces the NP *jal abel* ‘the middle of the path’ as an oblique location. Similarly in (3b), *joi* introduces the oblique NP *taruan enon* ‘that place’. *Joi* can also introduce place names in the oblique argument slot, as seen in (3c) with the place name *Betlehem*. As with the English ‘until’, *jowoi* also functions as a conjoiner of verbal clauses (see §6.2.2.3).

- (3) a. *A-ban joi jal abel.*
 3SG.ACT-go until path inside
 ‘It [the ball] goes along until the middle of the path.’
- b. *Id da-jamor daf joi taruan enon.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT-walk 3PL.ACT:carry until place MED.SG.INA
 ‘They continued walking until that place.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 24:50)
- c. *Id daf joi Bethlehem.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT:carry until Bethlehem
 ‘They continued until Bethlehem.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 2:6-7)

7.3.3 *Ag* ‘about’

The verbal preposition, *ag* ‘about’ introduces an argument with a peripheral thematic role. *Ag* does not occur frequently in my data and is only attested following the verb *fikir* ‘to think’ and introducing pronouns, as in (4a). It does not occur with prefixes but can occur with suffixes, as in

(4b). These suffixes have the same form as Set III P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (see §3.4.3) and act similarly to P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs in that they are pronominal (see §3.4.5).

- (4) a. *Ang ku-fikir ag nai.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-think **about** 3SG
 ‘I think about her.’
- b. *Ang ku-fikir ag-en.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-think **about-3SG**
 ‘I think about her.’

7.3.4 *Eg* ‘GOAL’

Eg functions as a conjoiner of verbal clauses where it does not take affixation and has purposive and comitative functions (see §6.2.2.7). As a verbal preposition, *eg* ‘GOAL’ introduces an oblique argument. It cannot be an independent predicate and does not take a preposition. *Eg* can occur with person-number inflection. It only takes prefixes when occurring in ditransitive constructions. The prefix agrees with the A argument of the leftmost verb in the ditransitive construction. *Eg* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. With prefixation, *eg* loses its initial vowel. This is seen in the ditransitive constructions of (5a-b), where *eg* is truncated to -g because of the presence of agreement prefixation. In (5a), the prefix *da-* ‘3PL.ACT’ refers to the A argument of the clause, which is *id* ‘3PL’. In (5b), the prefix *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’ refers to the A argument of the clause, which is the leftmost *ien* ‘INDEF-3SG.ANI’ in the utterance.

- (5) a. *Id dal buku da-g kam.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT:get book 3PL.ACT-GOAL 1PL.EXCL
 ‘They gave us a book.’
- b. *I-en ja a-nor moni a-g i-en.*
 INDEF-3SG.ANI SEQ 3SG.ACT-strech.out something 3SG.ACT-GOAL INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘One (of those people) gave something to another one (of those people).’

Suffixation of *eg* is only attested in ditransitive constructions where the suffix encodes the R argument. Unlike other verbal prepositions such as *ag* ‘about’ (§7.3.3) and *fai* ‘SRC’ (§7.3.7) whose suffixes have the same form as P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (§3.4.3), *eg* suffixes form an irregular paradigm, which may be explained diachronically (see §3.8). I tentatively present this paradigm in table 7.3. Note that there is no suffixation for the 3SG.INA due to its INANIMACY. Furthermore, in conjunction with the suffixation systems of other verbal prepositions, *eg* suffixes act similarly to P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs in that they are pronominal (see §3.4.5). Compare (6a-b) which are elicited

sentences. In (6a), the pronoun *sit* ‘1PL.INCL’ occupies the R argument slot. Therefore, there is no suffixation marking on the verbal preposition *-g* ‘GOAL’. In (6b), there is no overt R argument, so the pronominal suffix *-aisit* ‘1PL.INCL’ is present on *-g* ‘GOAL’.

Table 7.3: Pronominal suffixes that occur on *eg* ‘GOAL’

1SG	<i>-ang</i>
2SG	<i>-ag</i>
3SG.ANI	<i>-an</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>-aisit</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>-aikom</i>
2PL	<i>-aikem</i>
3PL	<i>-aïi</i>

- (6) a. *Nei nal siram a-g sit.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:get axe 3SG.ACT-GOAL 1PL.INCL
 ‘He gave the axe to us.’

- b. *Nei nal siram a-g-aisit.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:get axe 3SG.ACT-GOAL-1PL.INCL
 ‘He gave the axe to us.’

Eg ‘GOAL’ does not appear to occur with affixation outside of ditransitive clauses. I suggest that it may be possible for suffixation to occur if no overt ANIMATE R argument is present, but my corpus lacks data which would either support or refute this possibility. It is clear, however, that prefixation does not occur with *eg* outside of ditransitive constructions. Examples (7a-c) illustrate unaffixed *eg* introducing goals.

- (7) a. *Ku-ban eg rai.*
 2SG.ACT-go GOAL land
 ‘I’m going to the forest.’
- b. *ku-jamor eg burom*
 1SG.ACT-walk GOAL littoral.zone
 ‘I walked to the littoral zone’
- c. *Kaig mog mu-ban eg Benjuring.*
 2SG 2SG.ACT:want/say 2SG.ACT-go GOAL Benjuring
 ‘You are going to Benjuring.’ or ‘You want to go to Benjuring.’

Eg ‘GOAL’ combines with the interrogative marker *ula* ‘what’ (see §5.7.2.1.5), introducing it as an oblique argument, in order to indicate the purposive ‘why’ or ‘for what’ in clause-final position, as seen in (8a-c). These examples are repeated from the discussion on *ula* in §5.7.2.1.5.

- (8) a. *Ngom ses eg ula?*
 cloth severed GOAL what
 ‘Why was the cloth cut in half?’
- b. *Keiran a-bat eg ula?*
 tree.branch 3SG.ACT-break GOAL what
 ‘Why did the tree branch break?’
- c. ... *kaig mu-belmage eg ula?*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-angry GOAL what
 ‘... why are you angry?’ or ‘... what are you angry at?’

(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 15:28)

7.3.5 *Ig* ‘expel’

The verbal preposition, *ig* ‘expel’ can be used to introduce an oblique argument with verbs of excretion. It is homophonous with the transitive active verb *ig* ‘use’ (§7.3.10), the intransitive active verb *ig* ‘cluck’ and the intensifier *ig* ‘INTS’. It does not occur as an independent predicate and cannot take a preposition. In my data, it always occurs with A/S argument prefixation. *Ig* ‘expel’ prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. (9a-c) illustrates the use of *ig* with verbs of excretion. In each example, *ig* introduces an oblique argument. I have one example where *ig* occurs without an overt oblique argument. This is given in (9d), where *ig* follows a motion verb and expresses the notion of exiting from a location.

- (9) a. *Kaig mu-feilog mu-ig jig.*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-spit 2SG.ACT-expel fish
 ‘You spit out the fish.’
- b. *Id da-long da-ig manam.*
 3PL 3PL.ACT-vomit 3PL.ACT-expel food
 ‘They threw up their food.’
- c. *Ang ko-r-jis ku-ig gun.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-urinate 1SG.ACT-expel blood
 ‘I urinated blood.’

- d. *Ku-jal* *ku-ig*.
 1SG.ACT-move 1SG.ACT-**expel**
 ‘I’m going out.’ (i.e., of the house or village)

7.3.6 *Ngei* ‘toward’

As a verbal preposition, *ngei* ‘toward’ introduces a goal. It does not occur as an independent predicate and cannot take a preposition. In my data, it always occurs with A/S argument prefixation. *Ngei* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. (10a-c) provide illustrative examples of *ngei*.

- (10) a. *ruis a-it* *a-ngei* *sien*
 deer 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT-**toward** below
 ‘the deer looked down’
- b. *barang kam* *ma-r-tau* *ma-ngei* *gwalan a-fug*
 CONJ 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-INTR-marry 1PL.EXCL-**toward** clan 3SG.ACT-other
 ‘because we will marry into another clan’
- c. *Ja nam* *a-muil* *a-ngei* *fugar i-en*
 CONJ 3SG.ACT:cause/do 3SG.ACT-return 3SG.ACT-**toward** hill INDEF-3SG.ANI
ken *fufun*.
 3SG.POSS top
 ‘Then it [the ball] goes back toward the top of a hill.’

7.3.7 *Fai* ‘SRC’

As a verbal preposition, *fai* ‘SRC’ introduces an oblique source argument. It has an allomorph, *fei*, which is homophonous with the conjoiner *fei*. The conjoiner *fei* is likewise an allomorph of *fel*, which has a comitative function as a conjoiner of verbal clauses and nouns (see §6.2.2.1 and §4.10.3). As a verbal preposition, *fai* ‘SRC’ does not take a preposition. *Fai* can occur with person-number inflection. It only takes prefixation when occurring in ditransitive constructions. The prefix agrees with the A argument of the leftmost verb in the ditransitive construction. *Fai* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. In (11a), the prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’ refers to the A argument of the clause, which is *ang* ‘1SG’. Suffixation on *fai* has the same form as Set I P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs (see §3.4.3) and acts similarly to P pronominal suffixes that occur on transitive active verbs in that the suffixes are pronominal (see §3.4.5). Compare (11b-c) from a paradigm elicitation task. In (11b), the suffix *-i* marks the 3PL source argument. This pronominal suffix cannot co-occur with the pronoun *id* ‘3PL’ in (11c).

- (11) a. *Ang kol siram ku-fai-in.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT:get axe 1SG.ACT-SRC-3SG
 ‘I received the axe from him.’
- b. *fai-i*
 SRC-3PL
 ‘from them’
- c. *fai id*
 SRC 3PL
 ‘from them’

Fai can act as an independent predicate meaning ‘exit’. I have only two examples of this from my data. In (12a), *fai* ‘exist’ is intransitive. In (12b), it is transitive. The notion of ‘exit’ is usually expressed by the cognate active verb *lfai* or *lfei*, as seen in (13a-c). In (13a-b), *lfai* is used in an SVC. (13d) is from Pszczolka (n.d.-a). In it, *fai* appears to function as the second verb in a SVC where the leftmost verb is the irregular active verb *minal* ‘2PL.ACT:get’. Unfortunately, I cannot verify this as I do not have the recording. Comparing (13d) with (13a-c), I hypothesize that the verb *lfai* or *lfei*, which appears to have agreement prefixation different from that of the irregular active verb ‘get’ (as seen in the 3SG.ACT), may have developed from a combination of the irregular active verb ‘get’ and *fai* in the same way that *ban* ‘go’ functions as a source-introducing marker when suffixed to the irregular active verbs *nam* ‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’ and *nal* ‘3SG.ACT:get’ (see §7.3.13). This would explain the presence of *l* in *lfai*. Further investigation is needed, especially in eliciting the full paradigm of *lfai* and in observing its use in natural speech.

- (12) a. *Ku-fai ja ku-muil.*
 1SG.ACT-**exit** CONJ 1SG.ACT-return
 ‘I went out and then I returned.’
- b. *il nane a-fei ken lonceng*
 male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-**exit** 3SG.POSS bell
 ‘the man took off his watch’
- (13) a. *A-jamor a-lfai lef Abel.*
 3SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT-**exit** house inside
 ‘He walks out of the house.’
- b. *tafon je da-ni da-lfai*
 bee PL 3PL.ACT-fly 3PL.ACT-exit
 ‘the bees flew away’

- c. *Kader en a-lfei mej ken juei.*
 chair MED.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-**exit** table 3SG.POSS side
 ‘The chair came out from under the table.’

- d. *Baren minal fai?*
 when 2PL.ACT:get **exit**
 ‘When do you want to leave?’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

7.3.8 *Jel* ‘toward’ or ‘into’

As a verbal preposition, *jel* ‘toward’ or ‘into’ introduces an inanimate goal. It can occur as an independent predicate but cannot take a preposition. It can occur with A/S argument prefixation when meaning ‘into’ and it always takes prefixation when functioning as an independent predicate. *Jel* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same.

(14a-b) provide examples of *jel* where it acts as a directional verbal preposition meaning ‘toward’, introducing a goal. In all such examples in my data, *jel* ‘toward’ does not occur with prefixation. In (14a), *jel* introduces the goal *ken bog* ‘his canoe’. In (14b), it introduces the goal *kum ken fufun* ‘the top of the rock’.

- (14) a. *Ja a-fla, a-fla jel ken bog ...*
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-go.down 3SG.ACT-go.down **toward** 3SG.POSS canoe
 ‘So he went down, he went down to his canoe ...’
- b. *Gwau nane a-afol jel kum ken fufun ...*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend **toward** stone 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The child climbed to the top of the rock ...’

Jel is used as a verbal preposition to mean ‘into’ in the sense of breaking or severing into something. In my data, it occurs with the verbs *bat* ‘break’, *ses* ‘be severed’, *fetrai* ‘be split’ and the Malay borrowing *kasar* ‘ruin’. Prefixation is optional. Compare (15a-b). In (15a), *jel* occurs with prefixation and in (15b) it does not. In both examples, *jel* introduces the oblique argument *foen ru* ‘two pieces’.

- (15) a. *Ngom en ses a-jel foen ru.*
 cloth MED.SG.INA severed 3SG.ACT-**toward** piece two
 ‘The cloth severed into two pieces.’
- b. *Ngom en ses jel foen ru.*
 cloth MED.SG.INA severed **toward** piece two
 ‘The cloth severed into two pieces.’

Jel can act as an independent predicate where it has the directional meaning of ‘go toward’, as illustrated in (16a-c). When functioning predicatively, it takes prefixation. In (16a-b), *jel* is treated as a transitive verb with *fasien* ‘beach’ and *gwalan afug* ‘another clan’ as P arguments, respectively. In (16c), the goal-introducing function of *jel* allows for *jel* to be interpreted as ‘become’.

- (16) a. *Ku-jel* *fasien*.
 1SG.ACT-**toward** beach
 ‘I went toward the beach.’
- b. *ja* *ma-jel* *gwalan* *a-fug*
 CONJ 1PL.EXCL-**toward** clan 3SG.ACT-other
 ‘so we will enter another clan’
- c. *Nei* *ah* ... *a-jel* *ibu* *guru* *am* *Timika* *Papua*
 3SG INTERJ 3SG.ACT-**toward** Mrs. teacher 3SG.ACT:be.at Timika Papua
 ere ...
 DIST.SG.INA
 ‘She became a teacher in Timika (in) Papua over there ...’

7.3.9 *Tur* ‘with’

As a verbal preposition, *tur* ‘with’ or ‘accompanying’ introduces a comitative oblique argument. It appears to be related in form and meaning to the transitive active verb *uror* ‘follow’. *Tur* ‘with’ frequently occurs with A/S argument prefixation and regularly occurs as an independent predicate. *Tur* prefixation takes the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. I have only two examples of *tur* ‘with’ occurring with suffixation. Both are from a folktale and are presented in (17a-b). In (17a-b), *tur* acts predicatively and the suffix *-en* ‘3SG’ has the same form as the 3SG Set III P pronominal suffix that occurs on transitive active verbs (see §3.4.3).

- (17) a. *Eg* *a-tur-en* *dam* *enon* ...
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-**with**-3SG 1PL.ACT:be.at MED.SG.INA
 ‘And he lived with her there ...’
- b. *ja* *a-tur-en*, *da-mei* ...
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-**with**-3SG 3PL.ACT-stay
 ‘and he was with her, and they stayed (there) ...’

As a verbal preposition, *tur* introduces a comitative oblique argument, as illustrated in (18a-c). In (18a-c), *tur* introduces *tara* ‘dog’, *Jursien juer* ‘someone from Jursiang’ and *kanang asem* ‘my aunt’ as the comitative oblique arguments, respectively.

- (18) a. *Ang ko-r-ka ku-tur tara.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-hunt/chase 1SG.ACT-**with** dog
 ‘I hunt with a dog.’
- b. *Ang ku-mai kuf spid ku-tur Jursien juer.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-come 1SG.ACT:carry speedboat 1SG.ACT-**with** Jursiang person
 ‘I came by boat with someone from Jursiang.’
- c. *Ang ku-ja ra ku-tur kanang asem.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-speak speech 1SG.ACT-**with** 1SG.POSS aunt
 ‘I am speaking with my aunt.’

Tur ‘with’ functions similarly to the nominal conjoiner *fel* ‘and’ or ‘with’ (§4.10.3) in that it serves to conjoin nouns and express a relationship of comitativity, as in (19a). However, *tur* can function as an independent predicate in a clause. This is seen clearly in the free translation of (19b). In (19b), a pause is clearly heard delineating *gwau nane atur ken tara* as a separate clause.

- (19) a. *Gwau nane a-tur ken tara din*
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-**with** 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT:sleep/lie.down
sasal ...
 bed
 ‘The child and his dog were sleeping on the bed ...’
- b. *Fis, gwau nane a-tur ken tara, da-it gweingarngar*
 night child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-**with** 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-see frog
i-en am toples ken abel.
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:be.at jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘At night, there was a child with his dog, they were looking at a frog that was inside a jar.’

I have only one example in my corpus of *tur* occurring without affixation. It is presented in (20). I attribute the elision of the prefix on *tur* to truncation triggered by rapid speech in the context of storytelling.

- (20) *eg da-it da-uror ... gwau nane tur id gwalian*
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-see 3PL.ACT-follow child PROX.SG.ANI **with** 3PL.POSS sibling
i-en ...
 INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘and they looked out (at them) ... the boy with one of their siblings ...’

7.3.10 *Ig* ‘use’

The transitive active verb *ig* ‘use’ introduces an instrument. It is homophonous with the verbal preposition *ig* ‘expel’ (§7.3.5), the intransitive active verb *ig* ‘cluck’ and the intensifier *ig* ‘INTS’. *Ig* ‘use’ occurs with A/S argument prefixation and can occur as an independent predicate. *Ig* ‘use’ prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. In (21a-c), *ig* ‘use’ introduces the instruments *fonjar* ‘long machete’, *ken kada je* ‘his knees’ and *cat* ‘paint’ (a Malay borrowing) in what are instrumental serialization constructions.

- (21) a. *Il nane a-sifan keiran a-ig fonjar.*
 male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-sever tree.branch 3SG.ACT-**use** long.machete
 ‘This man cuts off a tree branch with a long machete.’
- b. *Il nane a-jofor keiran a-ig ken kada je.*
 male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-break tree.branch 3SG.ACT-**use** 3SG.POSS knee PL
 ‘This man broke a tree branch with his knees.’
- c. *Ang ku-bol dindin ku-ig cat.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-rub wall 1SG.ACT-**use** paint
 ‘I painted the wall.’

Ig ‘use’ occurs as an independent predicate, but it cannot take a preposition. In (22a), *ig* occurs as an independent transitive verb introducing the argument *kei kolau* ‘white-yellow pine wood’. In (22b), it introduces the argument *semeng* ‘cement’. Note that *ig* ‘use’ can be truncated to *i* in rapid speech, as in (22b). As an independent transitive verb, *ig* is also used in the sense of ‘wear’, as illustrated in (22c).

- (22) a. *sumen ken tulag raun je fel janom raun je da-ig*
 only 3SG.POSS hole leaf PL CONJ door leaf PL 3PL.ACT-**use**
kei kolau
 wood/tree pine.sp
 ‘only its windows and doors use white-yellow pine wood’
- b. *Eng habis en men ma-i semeng eg ma-guitan ...*
 CONJ after MED.SG.INA CONJ 1PL.EXCL-**use** cement CONJ 1PL.EXCL-cover
 ‘And after that then we used cement to cover it [i.e., the pillars of a house] ...’

- c. *Ku-ig jertai.*
 1SG.ACT-**use** clothing
 ‘I am wearing clothes.’

7.3.11 *Glil* ‘around’

Glil ‘around’ occurs as an independent predicate and in SVCs. In my data, it always occurs with prefixation. *Glil* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. In (23a-c), *glil* occurs predicatively, encoding either the motion or position of ‘surrounding’ something. Note that in (23b), *glil* is followed by the preposition *jel* ‘toward’ or ‘into’ which introduces the argument *kei ugen ken tafuren* ‘the middle of a tree stump’. I am unsure why *jel* occurs here and in other similar examples in my corpus. In (23c), *glig* is the first verb in an SVC and encodes the motion of ‘going around’. The second verb is *ig* ‘use’, which introduces the instrument *motor* ‘motorboat’.

- (23) a. *Fagar a-glil lef.*
 fence 3SG.ACT-**around** house
 ‘The fence surrounds the house.’
- b. *Sol da-glil jel kei ugen ken tafuren.*
 rope 3PL.ACT-**around** toward wood/tree stump 3SG.POSS middle
 ‘The rope is coiled around the middle of a tree stump.’
- c. *Ku-glil Aduar Gwari ku-ig kanang motor.*
 1SG.ACT-**around** Aduar Island 1SG.ACT-use 1SG.POSS motorboat
 ‘I went around Aduar Island with my motorboat.’

(24a-c) illustrate the use of *glil* ‘around’ as the second verb in an SVC. In each case, it encodes the property of ‘surrounding’ for the motion or position that is encoded by the first verb. Furthermore, it introduces an argument to the clause.

- (24) a. *Ku-lar ku-glil Aduar Gwari.*
 1SG.ACT-sail 1SG.ACT-**around** Aduar island
 ‘I sailed around Aduar Island.’
- b. *Tamata dino da-talar da-glil mej.*
 person MED.PL 3PL.ACT-stand 3PL.ACT-**around** table
 ‘Those people are standing around a table.’

	V ₁	V ₂	
c.	<i>a-r-bauler</i>	<i>a-glil</i>	<i>gweigwayor i</i>
	3SG.ACT-INTR-roll	3SG.ACT- around	puddle INDEF
	‘it [the ball] rolls around a puddle’		

7.3.12 *Sin* ‘go toward’

Sin ‘go toward’ occurs as an independent predicate and in SVCs. When occurring as an independent predicate, it takes prefixation and an optional preposition (see §5.4 on unmarked obliques). *Sin* prefixation has the same form as Set I agreement prefixes that occur on active verbs (see §3.4.2), and is therefore glossed the same. In (25a), *sin* occurs with the prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’ and is followed by *eg* which is used as a conjoiner to introduce the purposive goal *kol laur* ‘collecting seagrass’ (see §6.2.2.7). In (25b), *sin* occurs with the prefix *da-* ‘3PL.ACT’ and is followed by the verbal preposition *eg* (see §7.3.4) which introduces the goal *ken lef* ‘his house’. In (25c), the verbal preposition *eg* is elided.

- (25) a. *Ku-sin* *eg* *kol* *laur*.
 1SG.ACT-**go.toward** GOAL 1SG.ACT:get seagrass
 ‘I went to (in order to) collect seagrass.’
- b. *da-sin* *eg* *ken* *lef...*
 3PL.ACT-**go.toward** GOAL 3SG.POSS house
 ‘they went to his house ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 19:7)
- c. *Mer i, Yesus a-sin* *fanu i...*
 day INDEFJesus 3SG.ACT-**go.toward** village INDEF
 ‘One day, Jesus went to a village ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 19:1)

Sin ‘go toward’ can occur as the second verb in an SVC where it functions as a goal-introducing marker. In (26a), *sin* forms an SVC with *jamor* ‘walk’ and *tbor* ‘hug’. In an SVC, prefixation on *sin* can be elided, as in (26b) where *sin* does not occur with prefixation. In one SVC in my corpus, *sin* is followed by the verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’. This is from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) and is presented in (26c).

- (26) a. *Il nane* V₁ V₂ V₃
 a-jamor a-sin a-tbor kodar
 male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT-**go.toward** 3SG.ACT-hug female
 nane.
 MED.SG.ANI
 ‘This man walked toward and hugged that woman.’

- b. *ku-it* *sin* *Kumer*
1SG.ACT-see **go.toward** Kumer
'I look toward Kumer Island'
- c. *Ja* *Duid af* *tabol* *je fel* *man je a-sin* *eg*
CONJ God 3SG.ACT:carry animal PL CONJ bird PL 3SG.ACT-**go.toward** GOAL
tamata nenon ...
person MED.SG.ANI
'So God brought the animals and the birds to that person ...'

7.3.13 *Ban* ‘go’

- (27) a. *Mer en, ku-ban eg Timika ...*
 day MED.SG.INA 1SG.ACT-**go** GOAL Timika
 ‘That day I went to Timika ...’
- b. *Id idafon da-ban Dom.*
 3PL yesterday 3PL.ACT-**go** Dobo
 ‘Yesterday, they went to Dobo.’
- c. *Ku-ban la.*
 1SG.ACT-**go** sea
 ‘I am going out to sea.’

- (28) a. $\begin{array}{ccccc} V_1 & & & & V_2 \\ Kaig & muf & & gwayor & mu\text{-}b\textbf{an} & eg & lef. \\ 2SG & 2SG.ACT:carry & water & 2SG.ACT-\textbf{go} & GOAL & house \\ \text{'You are carrying water home.'} \end{array}$

- b. *Lara ner* V₁ V₂ *kei tutui.*
 sun NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-fall **go** tree top
 ‘The sun is falling towards the tree tops.’
- c. *Ma-ban* V₁ V₂ *tabar* *je.*
 1PL.EXCL.ACT-go 1PL.EXCL.ACT-dive rocky.seafloor PL
 ‘We are going diving in the rocky seafloor area.’

Ban ‘go’ can have a non-argument adding function. In (29a-b), *ban* ‘go’ functions intransitively. In each example, *ban* appears to express departure from a source toward an unmentioned goal.

- (29) a. *ang komo ti ku-ban ...*
 1SG NEG INCEP 1SG.ACT-go
 ‘before going ...’ or ‘I have not gone yet’
- b. *Nei nag a-ban.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT-go
 ‘He will go.’ or ‘He wants to go.’

Ban ‘go’ is unique in that it functions as a source-introducing marker that suffixes to the irregular active verbs *nam* ‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’ and *nal* ‘3SG.ACT:get’.⁹⁷ The inflected irregular active verb takes primary stress. This type of construction is perhaps the only environment in which *ban* functions transitively as a source-introducing marker instead of the goal-introducing verb ‘go’. This phenomenon illustrates grammaticalization of *ban* to a verbal suffix denoting source where it functions somewhat like an applicative marker.⁹⁸ (30-32) illustrate the use of “applicative” *ban* with the two different types of irregular active verbs. A frequency count from my corpus shows that “applicative” *ban* ‘SRC’ occurs 76% (26/34) of the time with the irregular active verb ‘cause/do’ (i.e., *nam* ‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’ and other inflected forms), while occurring only 24% (8/34) of the time with the irregular active verb ‘get’ (i.e., *nal* ‘3SG.ACT:get’ and other inflected forms). Note that *ban* ‘SRC’ differs from *fai* ‘SRC’ (see §7.3.7) in that *ban* ‘SRC’ introduces a physical source. Although *fai* can also introduce a physical source, it more often introduces an animate being which functions as the starting point for a transfer event.

⁹⁷ A similar phenomenon is observed in Kola (de Winne 2013a: 69).

⁹⁸ In other Aru languages, such as Ujir (Schapper 2011: 101) and Kola (de Winne 2013a: 62-64), cognates of Batuley’s *ban* can be used independently as transitive source motion verbs. In Batuley, the independent transitive verbal use of *ban* only indicates motion toward a goal. Synchronically, it is only as an intransitive verb and the grammaticalized verbal suffix that *ban* functions as a source-introducing marker in Batuley.

- (30) a. *Nei nam-ban Kabalsien.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC Kabalsiang
 ‘He is from Kabalsiang.’
- b. *Nei nal-ban Kabalsien.*
 3SG 3SG.ACT:get-SRC Kabalsiang
 ‘He is from Kabalsiang.’
- (31) a. *Kaem minam-ban Kabalsien.*
 2PL 2PL.ACT:cause/do-SRC Kabalsiang
 ‘You are from Kabalsiang.’
- b. *Kaem minal-ban Kabalsien.*
 3SG 2PL.ACT:get-SRC Kabalsiang
 ‘You are from Kabalsiang.’
- (32) a. *Bog tarai dam-ban la.*
 canoe some 3PL.ACT:cause/do-SRC sea
 ‘Some canoes are coming in from the sea.’
- b. *Dub-ui dal-ban Aduar fanu.*
 six-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT:get-SRC Aduar village
 ‘The six of them came from the village of Aduar Island.’

“Applicative” *ban* can occur in SVCs, as illustrated in (33a-b). Note that the irregular active verb can be elided, as in (33b).

- (33) a. *Tamata neno a-jamor nam-ban lef abel*
 person MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC house inside
a-ngei lef mon.
 3SG.ACT-toward house front
 ‘That person walked from the inside of the house toward the front of the house.’
- b. *Tamata neno a-jamor ban lef mon a-masu*
 person MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-walk SRC house front 3SG.ACT-enter
jel lef abel.
 toward house inside
 ‘That person walked from the front of the house into the house.’

In greeting expressions, the agreement prefix on *ban* ‘go’ and the irregular active verb to which “applicative” *ban* ‘SRC’ is suffixed are often elided. This creates ambiguity, which is

illustrated in the free translation of (34). The context determines how the question is interpreted, and I have found that it is often entirely up to the speaker as to how he or she chooses to interpret the question.⁹⁹ Further research in discourse is greatly needed.

- (34) *Boi! **Ban** ob te?*
 INTERJ **go/SRC** where EMPH
 ‘Hey! Where are you going?’ or ‘Hey! Where are you coming from?’

7.4 Motion serialization

Motion serialization involves a general motion verb combined with a verb of action or manner. As with all SVCs, the component verbs share at least one argument. In this case, the component verbs are coreferential in their A/S argument. Furthermore, they express what is conceived as a single event and display the intonational patterns of a monoverbal clause. The ordering of verbs in motion serialization may be the result of iconicity. Indeed, for the Taba language, Bowden notes that as a result of iconic principles, “the component of the event which occurs first in real life comes first in the SVC while the component of the event which comes last in real life also comes last in the construction” (2001: 303). Bowden also refers to Durie in asserting that serializing languages follow iconic ordering principles (Durie (1997: 330) in Bowden 2001: 303). The following motion serialization types are discussed in the subsequent sub-sections: motion-action serialization (§7.5.1), “follow” serialization (§7.5.2) and “return” serialization (§7.4.3).

7.4.1 Motion-action serialization

The verbs of motion *ban* ‘go’ and *mai* ‘come’ can occur in combination with a second verb that encodes a physical or metaphorical action. The motion verb provides deictic information with regard to the direction of the action. *Ban* ‘go’ implies that the actions occur away from the deictic centre. (35a-c) illustrate this.

- (35) a. V₁ V₂
*kam **ma-ban** ma-jol-un*
 1PL.EXCL **1PL.EXCL-go** 1PL.EXCL-ask-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘we will go and propose to her’

⁹⁹ This type of question is used as a common greeting, similar to the English ‘How’s it going?’. The ambiguity created by the elision is not problematic because the speaker asking the question is not generally interested in the specific response. This expression parallels the Malay greetings *Mau ke mana?* ‘Where are you going?’ and *Mau dari mana?* ‘Where are you coming from?’.

		V ₁	V ₂		
b.	<i>Idafon</i>	<i>ru-ei</i>	<i>da-ban</i>	<i>da-tbe</i>	<i>kaling, se?</i>
	yesterday	two-3PL.ANI	3PL.ACT-go	3PL.ACT-cast.out	fishing.line or
	‘Yesterday, both of them went out fishing, right?’				

	V ₁	V ₂		
c.	<i>ma-ban</i>	<i>ma-bangun</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>lef</i>
	1PL.EXCL-go	1PL.EXCL-build	3SG.POSS	house
	‘we went and built her house’			

As was noted in §7.2, up to three verbs can form an SVC. In (36), the motion verb *ban* ‘go’ is the first verb in a three verb SVC. *Ban* encodes the direction of motion away from the deictic centre, *lar* ‘sail’ encodes the manner of action, and *far* ‘search’ encodes the action. Note the iconic ordering of events. The ordering entails that one must first go out and sail in order to conduct the search.

	V ₁	V ₂	V ₃	
(36)	<i>ja</i>	<i>mu-ban</i>	<i>mu-lar</i>	<i>mu-far-un</i>
	CONJ	2SG.ACT-go	2SG.ACT-sail	2SG.ACT-find-3SG.ANI.PAT
	‘then go sail and find her’			

Mai ‘come’ implies that the direction for the action occurs toward the deictic centre. I have very few examples of *mai* occurring in an SVC in my corpus. (37) is from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011). It occurs in the context of an oral telling of the Bible story Matthew 14:22-33 where Jesus approached Peter, took him by the hand and pulled him out of the water. *Mai* ‘come’ is therefore used to indicate that Jesus came toward Peter and grabbed his hand.

	V ₁	V ₂		
(37)	<i>Yesus</i>	<i>a-mai</i>	<i>a-sual</i>	<i>lim.</i>
	Jesus	3SG.ACT-come	3SG.ACT-grasp	hand/arm
	‘Jesus came and grabbed hold of his hand.’			(Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Mt 14:31)

7.4.2 “Follow” serialization

A few verbs of action or motion and manner occur in combination with *uror* ‘follow’ as the second verb, encoding the physical or metaphorical motion of following in what I term “follow” serialization. The motion verb *uror* ‘follow’ provides deictic information with regard to the direction in which the action or motion and manner encoded by the first verb is carried out. It implies that the action or motion occurs in the direction of the argument that *uror* ‘follow’ introduces. (38a-b) illustrate this for the verb of action *tawar* ‘call’. The presence of *uror* ‘follow’ entails that the person is being called after and is very far away. Compare (38a-b). Note that *uror* is truncated to *ur* when followed by a suffix in (38b).

- (38) a. *Ang ku-taw<e>r.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-call<3SG.ANI.PAT>
 ‘I call him.’

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| V ₁ | V ₂ |
| b. <i>Ang ko-r-tawar</i> | <i>ku-ur-un.</i> |
| 1SG 1SG.ACT-INTR-call | 1SG.ACT-follow-3SG.ANI.PAT |
| ‘I call after him.’ | |

The action verb *it* ‘see’ occurs once in my corpus in a “follow” serialization construction. In (39), *uror* ‘follow’ introduces the argument *gwau nane tur id gwalian ien* ‘the boy with one of their siblings’. *Uror* in this SVC entails that the direction of the action is toward the argument and that the argument is being watched from a distance.

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|--|
| V ₁ | V ₂ | | | | | |
| (39) <i>eg da-it</i> | <i>da-uror ...</i> | <i>gwau</i> | <i>nane</i> | <i>tur id</i> | <i>gwalian</i> | |
| CONJ 3PL.ACT-see | 3PL.ACT-follow | child | PROX.SG.ANI | with 3PL.POSS | sibling | |
| <i>i-en ...</i> | | | | | | |
| INDEF-3SG.ANI | | | | | | |
| ‘and they looked out (at them) ... the boy with one of their siblings ...’ | | | | | | |

The verb *lai* ‘run’ encodes motion and manner. It occurs once in my corpus in a “follow” serialization construction. In (40), *lai* ‘run’ forms an SVC with *uror* ‘follow’, which is truncated to *ur* because it occurs with suffixation. The SVC occurs in the context of a story and expresses one conceptual event of a child’s dog running after other characters in the direction that they went.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| V ₁ | V ₂ |
| (40) <i>ja ken tara eg a-lai</i> | <i>a-ur-ui</i> |
| CONJ 3SG.POSS dog CONJ 3SG.ACT-run | 3SG.ACT-follow-3PL.PAT |
| ‘and his dog also ran after them’ | |

7.4.3 “Return” serialization

“Return” serialization is a type of motion serialization composed of the sequence of *muil* ‘return’ and *ban* ‘go’. These verbs have a combined lexicalized meaning of ‘return’, as seen in (41a-b). The component verbs of a “return” serialization are used intransitively.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| V ₁ | V ₂ |
| (41) a. <i>eg anei ja a-muil</i> | <i>a-ban</i> |
| CONJ HAB SEQ 3SG.ACT-return | 3SG.ACT-go |
| ‘after a while, he returned’ | |

- V₁ V₂
b. *A-muil* *a-ban* *ja* *a-ebal* *nal* *ken* *lar ...*
3SG.ACT-return **3SG.ACT-go** CONJ 3SG.ACT-hoist 3SG.ACT:get 3SG.POSS sail
‘He returned and then he hoisted up his sail ...’

“Return” serialization can occur in sequence with other verbs. In (42a), *muil* ‘return’ and *ban* ‘go’ form a three verb SVC with *lai* ‘run’. In (42b), they form a three verb SVC with the transitive verb *nor* ‘stretch out’. In (42c), they form a three verb SVC with *lap* ‘slap’. Reduplication of *lap* ‘slap’ signals iterativity (see §8.4.2) and the intransitivizing prefix *r-* indicates reciprocity (see §3.6.5). The presence of *muil* ‘return’ and *ban* ‘go’ also indicates that the action of slapping one another was “returned” from one person to another.

- (42) a. V₁ V₂ V₃
Tamata dini *da-lai* *da-muil* *da-ban*.
person PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-run **3PL.ACT-return** **3PL.ACT-go**
‘These people run there and back.’
- b. V₁ V₂ V₃
eg *da-nor* *buku nane* *da-muil* *da-ban*
CONJ 3PL.ACT-stretch.out book PROX.SG.ANI **3PL.ACT-return** **3PL.ACT-go**
‘and they exchange the book back and forth’
- c. V₁ V₂ V₃
Tamata dini *da-r-lap~lap-ei* *da-muil* *da-ban*.
person PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~slap-3PL.PAT **3PL.ACT-return** **3PL.ACT-go**
‘These people are slapping each other back and forth.’

“Return” serialization does not always involve *ban* ‘go’. In (43), which is repeated from (1) above, I present an example from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) that illustrates a different type of “return” serialization. In this example, *muil* ‘return’ does not occur with *ban* ‘go’ and is sufficient for conveying the sense of ‘return’. The stative verb *aire* ‘live’ forms a sequence with *muil* ‘return’ to express the notion of returning to life.

- (43) V₁ V₂
Nai *air-in* *a-muil* *ti*.
3SG live:SG/3PL:3SG.ANI.STV **3SG.ACT-return** PFV
‘He is already alive again.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 26:6)

7.5 Resultative (“break”) serialization

Resultative serialization involves the sequence of two verbs which introduce the result of an action or event. During fieldwork, I was able to collect a lot of data that illustrates a specific type of resultative serialization, which I will term “break” serialization, through the use of the MPI cut and break clips (Bohnemeyer et al. 2001).¹⁰⁰

“Break” serialization involves the sequence of two verbs where the second verb introduces an argument that is split or severed as a result of the action encoded by the first verb. The two verbs share two arguments: both the A and P arguments. Furthermore, they express what is conceived as a single event and display the intonational patterns of a monoverbal clause. The first verb in a “break” serialization construction is a transitive action verb which has the potential to result in a significant alternation in the state of the object it acts upon. In my corpus, the verbs which occur in “break” serialization as the first verb are *aes* ‘stab’, *aor* ‘cut’, *dawar* ‘hit’, *gasar* ‘tear’, *ju* ‘slice’, *tale* ‘pull’ and the Malay borrowings *gargaji* ‘saw’ and *gunting* ‘scissor’. The second verb is either *fet* ‘split’ or *sifan* ‘sever’. Table 7.4 illustrates which of the transitive active verbs occur with *fet* ‘split’ and which occur with *sifan* ‘sever’.

Table 7.4: Verbs which occur with *fet* ‘split’ and *sifan* ‘sever’ in “break” SVCs

First verb in a break SVC	Second verb in a break SVC	
	<i>fet</i> ‘split’	<i>sifan</i> ‘sever’
<i>aes</i> ‘stab’	X	✓
<i>aor</i> ‘cut’	✓	✓
<i>dawar</i> ‘hit’	X	✓
<i>gasar</i> ‘tear’	✓	X
<i>ju</i> ‘slice’	X	✓
<i>tale</i> ‘pull’	X	✓
<i>gargaji</i> ‘saw’	X	✓
<i>gunting</i> ‘scissor’	X	✓

In (44a-c), *fet* ‘split’ occurs in sequence with different types of action verbs and signals that the argument of the clause is split as a result of the action encoded by the first verb. Note that (44c) is also an instrumental serialization construction with the presence of *ig* ‘use’ which shares the A argument of the first and second verbs *aor* ‘cut’ and *fet* ‘split’ (see §7.3.10).

- (44) a. *Kodar neno a-gasar a-fet ngom.*
 female MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-tear 3SG.ACT-split cloth
 ‘That woman tore apart the cloth.’

¹⁰⁰ Available at <http://fieldmanuals.mpi.nl/volumes/2001/cut-and-break-clips/>.

- b. *Kodar nane a-dawar a-fet pot.*
 female PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-hit **3SG.ACT-split** pot
 ‘This woman smashed the pot.’
- c. *Il neno a-aor a-fet wortel a-ig siram.*
 male MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-cut **3SG.ACT-split** carrot 3SG.ACT-use axe
 ‘That man cut and split a carrot with an axe.’

In (45a-c), *sifan* ‘sever’ occurs in sequence with different types of action verbs and signals that the argument of the clause is severed as a result of the action encoded by the first verb.

- (45) a. *Tamata nane a-aes a-sifan kawat.*
 person PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-stab **3SG.ACT-sever** wire
 ‘This person stabbed and severed the wire.’
- b. *Il neno a-tale a-sifan banang.*
 male MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-pull **3SG.ACT-sever** thread
 ‘That man pulled apart the thread.’
- c. *Il nane a-gargaji a-sifan kai.*
 male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-saw **3SG.ACT-sever** wood/tree
 ‘This man sawed apart the wood.’

7.6 Causative serialization

Causation is expressed by means of a causative SVC. The structure of a causative SVC is illustrated in figure 5.3. In a causative serialization construction, the irregular transitive active verb of causation, *nam* ‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’ (or other inflected forms), occurs as the first verb. It is optionally preceded by an A argument (subject) NP or pronoun. The causative verb is followed by an embedded verb clause which describes the result of causation. The A/S argument (subject) of the embedded verb clause is the P argument (object) of the transitive verb of causation. The embedded verb can be followed by an NP or a PP. The sequence of verbs in causative serialization is conceptualized as a single event. This is evident in the free translations of the examples to follow.

V ₁	V ₂
(NP _{SUBJECT}) V _{CAUSATIVE}	[NP _{OBJECT/SUBJECT} V (NP) (PP)] _{EMBEDDED}

Figure 5.3: Causative serialization structure (adapted from de Winne 2013a: 112)

(46a-e) illustrate causative serialization with embedded active verbs. In (46d), the embedded verb *nal* ‘3SG.ACT:get’ introduces the noun *sanang* ‘happiness’. In (46e), the embedded verb *auil* ‘3SG.ACT-enter’ is followed by the verbal preposition *jel* which introduces the NP *toples ken abel* ‘inside the jar’.

- (46) a.

V ₁	V ₂
<i>Ang kom</i>	<i>buku a-fan.</i>
1SG 1SG.ACT:cause/do	book 3SG.ACT-fall
‘I dropped the book.’	
- b.

V ₁	V ₂
<i>Ang kom</i>	<i>buku a-r-tabrer.</i>
1SG 1SG.ACT:cause/do	book 3SG.ACT-INTR-stand
‘I stood the book up.’	
- c.

V ₁	V ₂
<i>Kaig mom</i>	<i>an-ag a-r-tuir.</i>
2SG 2SG.ACT:cause/do	child-2SG.POSS 3SG.ACT-INTR-wash
‘You gave your child a bath.’	
- d.

V ₁	V ₂
<i>ja ku-talar on te ma, eg kom</i>	<i>kanang</i>
CONJ 1SG.ACT-sitPROX.SG.INA EMPH IMM CONJ 1SG.ACT:cause/do	1SG.POSS
<i>fu je bar nal sanang</i>	
spirit ¹⁰¹ 3SG.ACT:get happiness	
‘so I am going to sit here for a moment, so that I can rest’	
- e.

V ₁	V ₂
<i>ken tara nam</i>	<i>gul taber a-uil jel toples</i>
3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT:cause/do	head head 3SG.ACT-enter toward jar
<i>ken abel</i>	
3SG.POSS inside	
‘his dog put his head inside the jar’	

¹⁰¹ *Fu je bar* ‘spirit’ is a parallelism which literally means ‘heart and lungs’. Refer to §4.10.2 for a discussion of the semantic and grammatical properties of parallelisms.

(47a-b) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) and Djonler & Pszczolka (2011) illustrate causative serialization with embedded stative verbs.

- (47) a. $\begin{array}{ccccc} & V_1 & & & V_2 \\ \text{Ang} & \textit{kom} & & \textit{mesin} & \textit{nen} & \textit{kat-en.} \\ \text{1SG} & \textbf{1SG.ACT:cause/do} & \text{machine} & \text{MED.SG.ANI} & \text{bad-3SG.ANI.STV} \\ \text{'I damaged the engine.'} & & & & \text{(Pszczolka n.d.-a)} \end{array}$

- b. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & V_1 & & & & V_2 \\ \text{Nai} & \textit{uteg} & \textit{nam} & & \textit{tamata} & \textit{da-daf~daf} & \textit{saki} & \textit{job-ei.} \\ \text{3SG} & \text{also} & \textbf{3SG.ACT:cause/do} & \text{person} & \text{3PL.ACT-RDP~acquire} & \text{sickness good-3PL.STV} \\ \text{'He also made sick people better.'} & & & & & & \text{(Djonler \& Pszczolka 2011, Lk 9:11b)} \end{array}$

8 Functions of reduplication

8.1 Introduction

Reduplication is a widespread phenomenon in Batuley and has several different functions. Refer to §2.8 for a discussion of the formal properties of reduplication. This chapter presents a brief outline of the functions of productive CVC reduplication (see §2.8.1) and other patterns of reduplication caused by phonotactic constraints (see §2.8.2). Table 8.1 summarizes the functions which I discuss in the following sub-sections based on reduplication type: nominal derivation (§8.2), nominal reduplication (§8.3), verbal reduplication (§8.4) and numeral reduplication (§8.5).

Table 8.1: Functions of reduplication

Functions	Type of Reduplication
Deverbal instrument formation	Nominal derivation
Deverbal abstract nouns	
Diminution	Nominal reduplication
Plurality	
Modifier formation	
Lexicalized reduplication	
Progressive and iterative situation indicator	Verbal reduplication
Modifier formation	
Ordinal number formation	Numeral reduplication

8.2 Nominal derivation

Reduplication causes a shift in word class membership. Nouns can be derived through reduplication of active and stative verbs with or without person-number marking morphology. The most common type of nouns formed through reduplication of active verbs are deverbal instruments (8.2.1) and the most common type of nouns formed through reduplication of stative verbs are deverbal abstract nouns (8.2.2).

8.2.1 From active verbs

A noun denoting the instrument with which the action of an active verb is carried out can be derived by reduplicating a verb. I have seven examples of this from my corpus, as seen in (1a-g).

- (1) a. *jo* ‘blow’ > *jo~jo* ‘blowpipe’
b. *jur* ‘scoop’ > *jur~jur* ‘spoon’
c. *kui* ‘close’ > *kui~kui* ‘cork’
d. *lagor* ‘sweep’ > *lag~lagor* ‘broom’

- e. *or* ‘pound’ > *aw~awor* ‘sago pounder’
- f. *tog* ‘step’ > *tog~tog* ‘part of a sago processing trough with step-like levels’
- g. *tug* ‘grab’ > *tug~tug* ‘fishing weight made of lead’

There is some extremely tentative evidence that reduplication of active verbs may be used as an indicator of subordination in what are essentially nominalization constructions¹⁰². This requires further investigation particularly with narrative texts. In two instances in my corpus, reduplication occurs after the conjoiner and verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’ (see §6.2.2.7 and §7.3.4). Note from the examples in §6.2.2.7 that, as a conjoiner of verbal clauses, *eg* does not usually introduce reduplicated verbs. However, in two instances in my corpus, it appears that reduplication is used to nominalize an inflected verb. In (2a), reduplication of the inflected verb *kujagkem* ‘I take care of you’ seems to either indicate that the event is a progressive situation (see §8.4.2) or that the inflected verb is a deverbalized argument of the verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’, in which case it might be interpreted as the nominalized ‘my looking after you’. A similar ambiguous analysis may be made for (2b) from Djonler & Pszczolka (2011), where *dameimei* appears to either indicate that the event is a progressive situation (see §8.4.2) or that the inflected verb is a deverbalized argument of the verbal preposition *eg* ‘GOAL’, in which case it might be interpreted as the nominalized ‘their staying’.

- (2) a. ... *ja komo kanang diri mampu eg ku-jag~jag-kem.*
 CONJ NEG 1SG.POSS self able¹⁰³ GOAL 1SG.ACT-RDP~guard-2PL.PAT
 ‘... then I am not able to take care of you.’
- b. *Maria a-tur Yusuf komo da-daf taruan eg*
 Mary 3SG.ACT-with Joseph NEG 3PL.ACT-acquire place GOAL
da-mei~mei.
 3PL.ACT-RDP~stay
 ‘Mary and Joseph did not find a place to stay.’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 2:6-7)

8.2.2 From stative verbs

A noun denoting an abstract concept of a stative verb can be derived by reduplicating the verb. (3a-g) list several of these deverbal abstract nouns.

- (3) a. *aise* ‘tall’ > *ais~aise* ‘height’¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² Note that in West Tarangan, verbs reduplicate after *aka*, which is a cognate of Batuley’s *eg*, in what are subordination or nominalization constructions (Nivens, p.c.).

¹⁰³ *Diri* ‘self’ and *mampu* ‘able’ are borrowings from Indonesian/Malay.

¹⁰⁴ I am uncertain of the phonological behaviour of the reduplication pattern in this example, which differs from the reduplication patterns described in §2.8.

- b. *degar* ‘dry’ > *deg~degar* or *deg~deger* ‘shallow water section of the littoral zone’
- c. *job* ‘good’ > *job~job* ‘good(ness)’
- d. *kat* ‘bad’ > *kat~kat* ‘bad’ or ‘evil’
- e. *labe* ‘wide’ > *lab~labe* ‘width’
- f. *nar* ‘long’ > *nar~nar* ‘length’
- g. *sogoi* ‘quiet’ > *sog~sogoi* ‘silence’

Deverbal abstract nouns appear frequently in P argument position, as in (4a-d). In (4a), the deverbal abstract nouns *jobjob* ‘good’ and *katkat* ‘bad’ occupy the P argument positions of the two instances of the verb *el* ‘do’. In (4b-d), deverbal abstract nouns follow different inflections of the irregular transitive verb *nam* ‘3SG.ACT:cause/do’ in what appear to be manner complements. I analyze these constructions as composed of deverbal abstract nouns where the nominalized verb occupies the P argument slot of a verbal clause. (4c) is ambiguous. *Dam* ‘3PL.ACT:cause/do’ is homophonous with *dam* ‘3PL.ACT:be.at’ and might therefore also be interpreted as such. Further investigation is required.

- (4) a. *Ta-el* *job-job* *se* *ta-el* *kat~kat?*
 1PL.INCL.ACT-do **RDP~good** CONJ 1PL.INCL.ACT-do **RDP~bad**
 ‘Should we do good or should we do bad?’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 6:9)
- b. *Ku-labar* *tagr-ung* *tuen* *ku-rengar* *kom* *job~job.*
 1SG.ACT-widen ear-1SG.POSS CONJ 1SG.ACT-hear 1SG.ACT:cause/do **RDP~good**
 ‘I opened my ears in order to hear well.’
- c. *Kodar* *nen* *fei* *il* *nen* *da-talar* *dam*
 female MED.SG.ANI CONJ male MED.SG.ANI 3PL.ACT-sit 3PL.ACT:cause/do
sog~sogoi fui.
RDP~quiet complete
 ‘That woman and that man sit in silence.’
- d. *Tamata* *da-frang* *dam* *tu~tut ...*
 person 3PL.ACT-all 3PL.ACT:cause/do **RDP~startle**
 ‘All the people were amazed ...’ (Djonler & Pszczolka 2011, Lk 2:18)

8.3 Nominal reduplication

Reduplication of nouns can indicate diminution (§8.3.1) or plurality (§8.3.2). It may also be used in modifier formation (§8.3.3). Lexicalized reduplication is a widespread phenomenon in many Batuley nouns particularly those pertaining to non-human living creatures (§8.3.4).

8.3.1 Diminution

Reduplication of a noun can indicate diminution. There are at least six examples of this in my corpus, as seen in (5a-f). (5f) is from (Pszczolka n.d.-a).

- (5) a. *fajurin* ‘rock edge’ > *fa<jur>jurin* ‘small rock edge’¹⁰⁵
b. *fugar* ‘hill’ > *fug~fugar* ‘small hill’
c. *gwau* ‘child’ > *gwau~gwau* ‘small child’; baby’
d. *kum* ‘stone’ > *kum~kum* ‘small stones’
e. *kutir* ‘droplet’ > *kut~kutir* ‘small droplet’
f. *lef* ‘house’ > *lef~lef* ‘sand castle’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

8.3.2 Plurality

Within a noun phrase (NP), plurality is typically indicated by the presence of the plural marker *je* (§4.7), a plural demonstrative (§4.4), or a plural numeral (§4.5.1). In addition, plural nouns can be formed through reduplication. This is a very uncommon way of indicating plurality. (6a-c) below illustrate how plural nouns are formed through reduplication. In (6a), reduplication of the noun *kum* ‘stone’ and the presence of the demonstrative *dini* ‘PROX.PL’ indicate that the noun is plural. During the fieldwork session in which (6a) occurred, the speaker explained that *kum dini* ‘these stones’ was sufficient for indicating plurality. In (6b), reduplication of the noun *tamata* ‘person’ indicates that the noun is plural. This occurs even though the presence of the plural demonstrative is sufficient for indicating plurality, as seen in the first occurrence of *tamata* ‘person’ in *tamata dini* ‘these people’. In (6c) from Pszczolka (n.d.-a), reduplication of *foloi* ‘body hair’ signals plurality. Note that the sentence contains the existential marker *ad*, which is also likely a borrowing from Indonesian/Malay *ada* ‘there is/are’.

- (6) a. ***Kum~kum*** *dini* *kanang-uin*.
RDP~stone PROX.PL 1SG.POSS-3PL
‘These stones are mine.’

¹⁰⁵ Etymologically, *fajurin* is a compound of *faf* ‘soil’ or ‘ground’ and *jurin* ‘nose’, ‘edge’ or ‘cape’.

- b. *Tamata dini kat-ei fei ta<mat>mata dinon.*
 person PROX.PL bad-3PL.ANI SRC <RDP>person MED.PL
 ‘These people are worse than those people.’
- c. *Abei ken fol~foloi¹⁰⁶ komo ad.*
 leg/foot 3SG.POSS RDP~body.hair NEG EXIST
 ‘There’s no leg hair.’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)

8.3.3 Modifier formation

Reduplicated nouns can be used in modifier formation. The second noun in a left-headed NP may be reduplicated in order to modify the head noun (N_{HEAD}) in an attributive dependency relation. I have only one example of nominal reduplication for modifier formation in my own data, which I present in (7). Refer to §4.8.1.3 on nominal attributive constructions for further discussion on nominal reduplication for modifier formation.

- (7) *bal tan~tan*
 ground RDP~soil
 ‘clay’

8.3.4 Lexicalized reduplication

Several nouns in Batuley appear to exhibit lexicalized reduplication – that is, their forms show evidence of fossilized reduplication. This is especially common in names of non-human living creatures, such as birds and fish.¹⁰⁷ The reduplication process involved in the formation of these nouns is not productive anymore. The base form can no longer be synchronically determined. Table 8.2 presents a non-exhaustive list of nouns which show lexicalized reduplication.

Table 8.2: Non-exhaustive list of lexicalized reduplication

Item	English	Category
<i>men~men</i>	‘jar’; ‘buoy’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)	Tools
<i>bui~bui</i>	‘buoy’; ‘jar made of a buoy’	
<i>jeb~jebir</i>	‘mud found on a trail’	The physical world
<i>kal<jid>jidar</i>	‘rainbow’	
<i>jerbui~bui</i>	‘wage’ (Pszczolka n.d.-a)	Social and political relations
<i>no~no</i>	‘message’	Speech and language
<i>ab<ki>ki¹⁰⁸</i>	‘butterfly’	Animals of the land and sky
<i>bel~bel tai</i>	‘species of bird’ ¹⁰⁹	

¹⁰⁶ Originally *fólfóloi* in Pszczolka (n.d.-a).

¹⁰⁷ See Hughes (2000: 167) for a similar observation with regard to Dobel animal names.

¹⁰⁸ The term *abkiki* /abki’ki/ for ‘butterfly’ is used in most Batuley villages except in the southernmost village of Sewer, where it is *abukaka* /abuka’ka/, and the northernmost village of Kabalsiang, where it is *abkaka* /abka’ka/.

<i>gwei<gol>gol</i>	‘greater streaked lory’ (<i>Chalcopsitta s. scintillata rubifrons</i>)	
<i>gwei<ngar>ngar</i>	‘frog’	
<i>gob~gobi</i>	‘king bird-of-paradise’ (<i>Cicinnurus regius</i>)	
<i>ju~ju</i> ¹¹⁰	‘gecko’	
<i>lung~lungon</i>	‘fruit dove’ (<i>Ptilinopus</i>)	
<i>mug~mug</i>	‘type of small bird’ ¹¹¹	
<i>ta~tawar lara</i>	‘kingfisher bird’	
<i>tun~tun</i>	‘species of mosquito’	
<i>tu<ba>bar</i>	‘bedbug’	
<i>gwei<laf>lafor</i>	‘bat’	
<i>al<ri>ri</i>	‘species of stingray’	Marine life
<i>dam~damur</i>	‘lobster’	
<i>gwei<seb>sebam</i>	‘seahorse’	
<i>kaf~kaf</i>	‘species of crab’	
<i>ka<tar>tar</i>	‘species of grouper’	
<i>lar~lar jer<ta>tawal</i>	‘bannerfish’	
<i>lei dum~dum</i>	‘lionfish’	

8.4 Verbal reduplication

Verbal reduplication functions as a marker of coreferentiality of A and P arguments when occurring in conjunction with the prefix *r-* (§8.4.1). It also appears to function as a progressive and iterative situation indicator (§8.4.2) and is used in modifier formation (§8.4.3).

8.4.1 Coreferentiality

As noted in §3.6.5, verb root reduplication accompanies constructions in which the prefix *r-* indicates coreferentiality of A and P arguments. Compare (8a-b). In (8a), the presence of the prefix *r-* indicates that the P argument pronominal suffix *-eg* ‘2SG.PAT’ is coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *mo-* ‘2SG.ACT’. The verb root *kalag ~ glag* is therefore reduplicated. In contrast, the P argument pronominal suffix *-ei* ‘3PL.PAT’ in (8b) is not coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *ku-* ‘1SG.ACT’ and, therefore, the prefix *r-* is not present and the verb root is not reduplicated.

- (8) a. *kaig mo-r-ka<lag>lag-eg*
 2SG 2SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-2SG.PAT
 ‘you hide (yourself)’

¹⁰⁹ Small bird living by the sea. Possibly includes the glossy swiftlet (*Collocalia esculenta*) and barn swallow (*Hirundo rustica*).

¹¹⁰ The term *juju* /dʒuˈdʒu/ for ‘gecko’ is reportedly used in all Batuley villages except in the northernmost village of Kabalsiang, where the term is *jungjunglai* /dʒuŋdʒuŋˈlaj/.

¹¹¹ General term for small birds with short, small beaks.

- b. *Ang ku-glag-ei.*
 1SG 1SG.ACT-hide:RSYL-3PL.PAT
 ‘I hide them [i.e., the books].’

Compare (9a-b). In (9a), the presence of the prefix *r-* indicates that the A and P arguments are coreferential. As such, the verb root is reduplicated. In contrast, in (9b), the P argument (the second occurrence of *ien* ‘one’) is not coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’ which refers to the first occurrence of *ien* ‘one’. As such, the prefix *r-* is not present and the verb root is not reduplicated.

- (9) a. *Tamata kau-ei dini da-talar, da-r-tub~tubag id*
 person four-3PL.ANI PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-sit **3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~punch** 3PL.POSS
kul-un je.
 thigh-3PL.POSS PL
 ‘These four people are sitting and punching each other’s thigh.’
- b. *i-en a-tubag i-en*
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-punch INDEF-3SG.ANI
 ‘one (person) punches another (person)’

Similarly, compare (10a-b). In (10a), the presence of the prefix *r-* indicates that the A and P arguments are coreferential. As such, the verb root is reduplicated. In contrast, the P argument pronominal suffix *-un* ‘3SG.ANI.PAT’ in (10b) is not coreferential with the A argument agreement prefix *a-* ‘3SG.ACT’ which refers to the first occurrence of *ien* ‘one’. As such, the prefix *r-* is not present and the verb root is not reduplicated.

- (10) a. *Kodarbu dino da-r-ta<bor>bor-ui ...*
 woman MED.PL **3PL.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hug-3PL.PAT**
 ‘Those women hug each other ...’
- b. *i-en a-tbor-un*
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-hug:RSYL-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘one (person) hugs him’

8.4.2 Progressive and iterative situation indicator

A reduplicated verb can indicate a progressive situation. Reduplication of a verb can also signal a progressive event with multiple subparts (such as iterative or repetitive action). I have very few examples of the progressive and iterative situation indicating function of verbal reduplication in my corpus. Further investigation is required. In (11a), reduplication of the verb root indicates that the action of the verb is on-going until a certain point in time. In (11b), it indicates that descending through the forest is a progressive event.

- (11) a. *Ja ku-jam~jamor joi tai a-afoi ...*
 CONJ 1SG.ACT-RDP~walk CONJ sea.water 3SG.ACT-ascend
 ‘And so I walked along until high tide ...’
- b. *... ja a-afoi a-lug~lug nal rei abel*
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-ascend 3SG.ACT-RDP~descend 3SG.ACT:get land inside
 ‘... and it [the ball] goes up and down through the middle of the forest’

Although verbal reduplication in coreferential constructions is used in the first instance to indicate coreferentiality in conjunction with the prefix *r-* (as discussed above in §8.4.1), it appears that verbal reduplication can also indicate progressive and iterative action in some coreferential constructions, such as those presented in (12a-b). In these examples, I analyze verbal reduplication as indicating both coreferentiality and a progressive or iterative situation.

- (12) a. *Tamata dini da-r-da~dawr-ui.*
 person PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~hit:3SG/PL-3PL.PAT
 ‘These people are hitting each other.’
- b. *Tamata dini da-r-ka~ka-ui*
 person PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~hunt/chase-3PL.PAT
 ‘These people are chasing each other.’

8.4.3 Modifier formation

Reduplicated verbs can be used in modifier formation. Reduplicated active and stative verbs indicate a dependency relation with the preceding N_{HEAD} . They are found to the right of the N_{HEAD} they modify. The two dependency relations that are formed are attributive constructions (§8.4.3.1) and relative clause constructions (§8.4.3.2).

8.4.3.1 Attributes

Reduplicated active and stative verbs can modify a N_{HEAD} in an attributive dependency relation. In (13a), a reduplicated active verb modifies the N_{HEAD} it follows in an attributive construction. In (13b), a reduplicated stative verb modifies the N_{HEAD} it follows in an attributive construction. Refer to §4.8.1.1 and §4.8.1.2 on active verb attributive constructions and stative verb attributive constructions, respectively, for a more detailed discussion on reduplication in this type of modifier formation.

- (13) a. *kei da~da*
 wood/tree RDP~3PL.ACT-burn
 ‘firewood’

- b. *lef jin~jin*
house RDP~big
‘big house’

8.4.3.2 Relative clauses

A reduplicated active verb or stative verb can modify a N_{HEAD} in a relative clause dependency relation. Stative verb relative clauses are extremely rare in my corpus. Refer to §4.8.2.1 for a discussion of the issue of stative verb relative clauses. In (14a), the reduplicated active verb *ageigai* ‘he ate’ forms part of the relative clause *en ageigai* ‘that he ate’ which modifies the N_{HEAD} *nor* ‘coconut’. If more than one inflectional element (i.e., verb or preposition) is present in a relative clause, only the last element is reduplicated. In (14b), only the active verb *ban* ‘go’ is reduplicated because it is the final verb in the relative clause *ner alai abanban* ‘who ran away’. Refer to §4.8.2.2 for a more detailed discussion on the properties of relative clauses. Also, refer to §4.8.2.3 for a discussion on the NP accessibility hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) which presents further examples of reduplication in modifier formation.

- (14) a. *nor [en a-gei~gai]_{RC} en*
coconut MED.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-RDP~eat MED.SG.INA
‘that coconut that he ate’
- b. *Tamata [ner a-lai a-ban~ban]_{RC} a-muil ti.*
person NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.ACT-RDP~go 3SG.ACT-return PFV
‘The person who ran away has returned.’

8.5 Numeral reduplication

Reduplicated numerals function attributively in forming ordinals. During fieldwork, it was difficult to elicit Batuley ordinals. It appears as though speakers more readily employ Indonesian/Malay ordinals in natural speech, perhaps because ordinal numerals are so rarely used in general. (15a-c) present examples of reduplicated numerals. Refer to §4.5.1.3 for a more detailed discussion on reduplicated numerals.

- (15) a. *tamata ru~ru-ei*
person RDP~two-3PL.ANI
‘the second person’
- b. *tamata lim~lim-ei*
person RDP~five-3PL.ANI
‘the fifth person’

c. *tamata urfaef eng ru~ru-ei*
person ten AUG RDP~two-3PL.ANI
'the twelfth person'

Appendices

I Batuley-English glossary

This glossary is a shortened and edited version of my Batuley Toolbox lexicon.¹¹² It was exported using the Toolbox Multi-Dictionary Formatter. There are approximately 1110 Batuley headwords. The English translation is provided. In this glossary, bound morphemes are not included. Refer to the relevant sections on affixation present in §2.7, §3, §4.5.1.2 and §4.9. Irregular verb forms are listed using the third person singular form as the headword. The full person-number paradigms for each irregular verb are presented in the headword entry. Bare roots of verbs, nouns and numerals are presented as headwords. Suffixing roots and prefixing mutation roots are indicated in the entry for the bare root headword. A few inalienably possessed nouns are listed using the third person singular possessive form. I indicate whether a noun is ANIMATE (ANI) or INANIMATE (INA) and whether it is alienably (AL) or inalienably (INAL) possessed if I have that information. Additionally, the class of the verb and inalienably possessed noun is provided in each entry where possible. In addition to the abbreviations presented in xxiii, the following abbreviations are employed in this glossary.

Additional abbreviations used in this lexicon

<i>adv</i>	adverb
<i>C</i>	class
<i>dem</i>	demonstrative
<i>etym</i>	etymology
<i>expr</i>	expression
<i>inter</i>	interrogative
<i>intr</i>	intransitive
<i>irr</i>	irregular
<i>n</i>	noun
<i>part</i>	particle
<i>prdm</i>	paradigm
<i>pro</i>	pronoun
<i>quant</i>	quantifier
<i>redup</i>	reduplicated form
<i>syn</i>	synonym
<i>trans</i>	transitive
<i>va</i>	active verb
<i>vs</i>	stative verb

¹¹² A few entries from Pszczolka (n.d.-a) such as *barian* ‘later’ and *baren* ‘when’ are also included.

A - a

- a** *CIIa* va. burn; cook; light.
- abai** *inter.* who; plural form. *See: inat.*
- abei** *INA INAL CI n.* leg, foot. *See: lel.*
- abei koroi** *n.* heel of foot.
- abel** *INA AL n.* inside.
- abjusin** *ANI AL n.* swiftlet bird, possibly the Uniform Swiftlet (*Aerodramus vanikorensis granti*).
- abkak** *ANIAL n.* Dollarbird (*Eurystomus orientalis*).
- abkiki** *ANI AL n.* butterfly. *Variants: abkaka* (used in Kabalsiang); **abukaka** (used in Sewer).
- abui** *ANIAL n.* grandchild.
- adaol** *INA AL n.* wing.
- Aduar** *place.n.* Aduar; name of a Batuley island.
- aes₁** *CI va.* stab; pierce. *See: sur.*
- aes₂** *CI va.* throw.
- af** *CIV irr va.* carry; bring. *Prdm: 1SG: kuf. 2SG: muf. 3SG: af. 1PL.INCL: taf. 1PL.EXCL: maf. 2PL: mif. 3PL: daf.*
- afar** *ANIAL n.* west wind season. *Lit: 'it whistles'.*
- afol** *CIIa va.* ascend; climb. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: afl-. Variant: afoi. Note: Variant due to lenition.*
- afur** *INA AL n.* shaft part of a 'solsolan' spear. *See: gwai₂; tam₂; solsolan.*
- ag₁** *irr va.* eat. *Prdm: 1SG: kug. 2SG: mug. 3SG: ag. 1PL.INCL: tag 1PL.EXCL: mag 2PL: minag. 2PL: dag. See: gai.*
- ag₂** *prep.* about.
- aga** *ANI AL n.* type of sago palm tree; thorny. *See: bamar.*
- agai** *adv.* often, now and then; sometimes; habitual aspect marker. *Variant: agei; angai.*
- Ageijin** *place.n.* Ageijin Cape, name of a cape in Benjuring village.
- agel** *INA INAL n.* neck. *Note: Usually used in reference to animals.*
- ai** *interj.* hey. *Note: Can be used as sentence-final confirmation question tag meaning 'right?'.*
- aire** 1) *INA INAL CI n.* breath. 2) *CI vs.* live. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: air-.*
- aise** *CI vs.* tall. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: ais-.*
- aisaise** (*Redup.*) *n.* height.
- ajer** *ANIAL n.* casuarina tree.
- al riri** *ANIAL n.* type of stingray, rayfish.
- alan** *ANIAL n.* centipede.
- alei** *INA AL n.* flipper. *Variant: afalei* (used in Sewer).
- ales** *CIIa vs.* empty. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: alk-.*
- alkai** *n.* black cockatoo. *See: gur₂.*
- am** *irr va.* be at. *Prdm: 1SG: kum. 2SG: mum. 3SG: am. 1PL.INCL: tam. 1PL.EXCL: mam. 2PL: mim. 3PL: dam.*
- aem** *ANI INAL CIII n.* father. *3SG: aem. Suffixing root: am-. See: baba; bafa; bai₁; kai₂; mam; ua.*
- amer** *n.* the day after tomorrow.
- an** *CIII va.* shoot.
- anes** *ANI INAL irr n.* child. *3SG: anes. Suffixing roots: an-; ank-. See: gajajam; gwau; gogobu.*
- anen** *INA AL n.* wind.
- ang** *pro. I;* first person singular pronoun.
- angang** *n.* type of starfish.
- angar** *ANIAL n.* sago processing trough.
- Anggresi** *n.* English, name of language; England.
- anis** *ANIAL n.* flying fox.
- aor₁** *CIIa va.* cut.
- aor₂** *n.* golden rabbitfish.
- ar₁** *va.* be born.
- ar₂** *INA AL n.* main shaft of a fishing harpoon.
- ar je kadai** (*Parallelism*) *INA AL n.* fishing harpoon, used to harpoon turtles. *See: kadai.*
- ar₃** *INA AL n.* rack used for drying seaweed.
- ardela** *INA AL n.* lightning. *Lit: 'it flashes'.*
- areikai** *n.* ironwood.
- arfodudom** *INA AL n.* thunder. *Etym: Probably derived from active verb.*
- arloji** *ANIAL n.* wrist watch. *Note: Borrowing.*
- armaen** *INA AL n.* outrigger float.
- asi** *ANI INAL irr n.* aunt. *Variant: asasi; asem. Note: asem is probably fossilized 2SG form.*
- at₁** *CIIa va.* fold.
- at₂** *INA AL n.* liver.
- atat kai** *ANI AL n.* type of owl. *Expr: La atata kai abrai, ja nam lur.* When the owl hoots, it is a sign that the wind will calm down soon. *See: (man) gwangam.*
- au** *ANIAL n.* snake.
- au tai** *ANIAL n.* sea snake.
- au loeb** *ANIAL n.* python.
- au gwaraman** *ANIAL n.* poisonous snake.
- au lara** *ANIAL n.* type of tree snake.
- aun** *INA AL n.* thatch roof.
- aur** *n.* digit; finger, toe.
- awawor** *ANIAL n.* pounder; general tool for hitting and cutting (e.g., sago pounder). *See: or.*
- awei₁** *INA AL n.* rice.
- awei jarjar** *ANIAL n.* wild rice of Aru. *See: jar.*

awei₂ *INA AL n.* gill.

ayar *ANIAL n.* kangaroo.

B - b

baba *ANIAL n.* father. *Note:* Used in Sewer. *See:* **aem**; **bafa**; **bai₁**; **kai₂**; **mam**; **ua**.

bada *INA AL n.* a type of white, cosmetic facial powder.

badel *ANIAL n.* breaker; wave. *See:* **fuat**.

baes *ANIAL n.* wild mango tree. *Variant:* **baen**. *See:* **gwai₁**.

bafa *ANIAL n.* father; a person like a father. *Variant:* **bafak**. *Note:* Used in Kumul and Benjuring; borrowing. *See:* **aem**; **baba**; **bai₁**; **kai₂**; **mam**; **ua**.

bafaer *va.* sneeze. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

bafar 1) *n.* swelling; ulcer. 2) *va.* swell. *Prefixing mutation root:* **-bfar**.

bai₁ *ANIAL n.* father; grandfather. *Usage:* Means ‘grandfather’ in Benjuring and Kumul; means ‘father’ in most other Batuley villages. *See:* **aem**; **baba**; **bafa**; **kai₂**; **mam**; **ua**.

bai₂ *ANIAL n.* type of flatfish.

bal *INA AL n.* ground; land; soil.

bal tantan *INA AL n.* clay. *See:* **tan**.

Balandui *n.* Dutch people. *Note:* Plural.

balet *ANIAL n.* can; tin can. *Note:* Borrowing.

balu *ANI n.* widow; referring to the status of being a widow not the person.

balulu *ANIAL n.* type of starfish.

bamar *ANIAL n.* type of sago palm tree; non-thorny. *See:* **aga**.

ban₁ 1) *va.* go. 2) *prep.* from; source marker.

ban₂ *ANIAL n.* chest; breast(s).

ban₃ *ANIAL n.* seagull.

ban₄ *ANIAL n.* ribbon.

ban foro *ANIAL n.* belt.

bar₁ *ANI/INA AL n.* lungs.

bar₂ *va.* leap. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

barang 1) *conj.* because; maybe; approximately; the problem (is). 2) *n.* thing; stuff; something. *Note:* Borrowing.

baren *inter.* when (Pszczolka n.d.-a).

barian *adv.* later; then (Pszczolka n.d.-a).

barleilai *n.* things.

barmain *v.* play. *Variant:* **main**. *Note:* Borrowing; occurs in combination with **el** ‘do’.

bas *va.* read. *Note:* Borrowing.

bat *va.* break; break off. *See:* **jofor**.

batako *n.* brick. *Note:* Borrowing.

bauler *va.* roll. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

bayam *INA AL n.* spinach. *Note:* Borrowing; grown in Batuley region.

bebar *va.* afraid; frightened.

bed *INA AL n.* machete. *See:* **fonjar**.

bedil *INA INAL CII n.* back. *Suffixing root:* **bedl-**.

bedug *ANIAL n.* large drum used to signal Islamic call to prayer. *Note:* Borrowing.

bel *n.* beach.

belsien *n.* sandy beach. *Usage:* Common in Kabalsiang, where there is an actual sandy beach (even at high tide). *See:* **fasien**; **teire**; **kulmaes**. *Etym:* **bel** ‘beach’ + **sien** ‘below’.

belbael *INA AL n.* type of fishing rod; traditional fishing rod (made of a sago branch), used with a plastic bottle nowadays (instead of a traditional wooden float).

belbel tai *ANIAL n.* type of bird; small bird living by the sea.

belmage *va.* angry. *See:* **mage**. *Etym:* **abel** ‘inside’ + **mage** ‘bitter’.

belo *ANI AL n.* wooden stick used for planting seaweed.

ben *INA AL n.* news. *Usage:* Very rare. *See:* **kabar**.

Ben Gwari *place.n.* Ben Island; name of a small island on the northwestern coast of Aduar Island.

Benjuring *place.n.* Benjuring; name of a Batuley village.

bensin *INA AL n.* gasoline. *See:* **lur**; **solar**; **mintan**. *Note:* Borrowing.

bi *ANIAL n.* type of bird; common bird that is black and has red eyes, possibly a Metallic Starling (*Aplornis m. metallicus*).

bia₁ *ANI AL n.* type of mangrove clam. *Note:* Borrowing.

bia₂ *let;* imperative marker.

bibit *INA AL n.* stem of seaweed. *Note:* Borrowing.

bijarom *ANIAL n.* whale.

bis *va.* can. *Note:* Borrowing.

bog *INA AL n.* canoe (general); term also applies to large motor-powered vessels. *See:* **dab**; **kalei**; **letei**; **motor**; **spid**.

Bogis *n.* Buginese person.

boi₁ 1) *va.* stop; rest. 2) *va.* tired. **Kaling arboi**. I am tired (*Lit.* my body is tired). *Note:* Always takes

intransitivizing prefix **r-**. *See: bulai; soflai.*
boi₂ *interj.* hey; hello.
Boitai 1) *place.n.* Papua. 2) Papuan. **Boitai i.** A person from Papua.
bol *CIIa va.* rub.
bola *n.* ball. *Note:* Borrowing.
bola kaki *n.* football. *Note:* Borrowing.
boloi 1) *INA AL n.* addition; more. 2) *INA AL n.* leftovers.
bongbong *INA AL n.* navel.
boslak *n.* mattress. *See: sponj.* *Note:* Borrowing.
botal *ANIAL n.* bottle. *Note:* Borrowing.
brai *va.* call out; shout; bark.
bu jeje *ANIAL n.* type of parrot, possibly the Yellow-capped Pygmy-Parrot (*Micropsitta keiensis keiensis*).
bual *va.* talk.
bubu *INA AL n.* fish trap made of bamboo. *Note:* Borrowing.
bui *INA AL n.* acera nut; betel nut.
bui je faritan (*Parallelism*) *n.* beetle nut (ready

for chewing). *See: faritan.*
bui bui *INA AL n.* buoy; water jar made from a buoy.
buibui kanam *ANIAL n.* type of small bird, possibly the Mistletoebird (*Dicaeum hirundinaceum*) and/or the Red-headed Myzomela (*Myzomela erythrocephala*).
bukti *n.* heritage; lineage. *Note:* Borrowing.
buku *ANIAL n.* book. *Note:* Borrowing.
bulai *CI* vs. tired, weak. *See: boi; soflai.*
bunor *INA AL n.* sunlight.
burere *n.* coral (used in Sewer); gravel (used in Jursiang). *Usage:* Term used in southern Batuley villages.
burlem *n.* smell (positive). *See: jangel.*
burom *ANIAL n.* littoral zone.
butal *ANIAL n.* spear with iron shaft and head, formerly used in warfare. *See: dafal.*
butem vs. soft.

C - c

cangkir *INA AL n.* cup. *Note:* Borrowing.
cat *n.* paint (i.e., for walls). *Note:* Borrowing.
cerek *n.* teapot. *Note:* Borrowing.

cok *CIII trans va.* plug in, charge an electrical device. *Note:* Borrowing.

D - d

dab *INA AL n.* dugout canoe, propelled with a punting pole. *See: ses₁; bog; kalei₁; letei; motor; spid.*
dabur mon *INA AL n.* veranda.
daf *va.* acquire; obtain; receive; can; able to.
dafal *AN AL n.* bamboo hunting spear, used for hunting pigs and other animals. *See: butal; solsolan.*
dafur *INA AL n.* kitchen. *Variant: dapur.* *Note:* Borrowing.
dagel bak *INA AL n.* water container. *See: dagel gwayor.* *Note: bak* is a borrowing.
dagel gwayor *INA AL n.* water container. *See: dagel bak.*
daian *CIIa* vs. happy. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: dain-.* *See: sanang.*
daldal *ANIAL n.* traditional iron drum, used during dowry ceremony and tambaroro; not made in Aru.
damar *INA AL n.* lamp.
damdamur *ANIAL n.* lobster.
dawar *CIIb a.* hit. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: dawr-.*

dedei *n.* storytelling.
dedem *CIIa* vs. dark. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: dedm-.*
degar *CIIa* vs. dry. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: degr-.* *See: marmare.* *Variant: deger.* *Note:* Variant caused by devoicing.
degdegar (*Redup.*) *n.* shallow section of littoral zone. *Variant: degdeger.* *See: lalal.*
dele *CI* vs. white. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: del-.*
delei *n.* waist.
dengal *CIIb va.* strike; hit; beat to death.
dewor *INA AL n.* type of crab, pink and lives in the sea. *See: mir.*
dian *va.* pregnant. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
diantan *INA AL n.* type of traditional Batuley earthen pot, used for cooking and washing (e.g., clothing). *Variant: diantang.* *See: nguis; gulor.*
dien *CIIa* vs. heavy. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: din-.*
dieregen *dem.* those; distal visible plural demonstrative. *Variant: diere; dieregen; dire.* *Note: dieregen* and *dire* used in Kabalsiang.

dindin *n.* wall. *Variant:* **dinding**. *Note:* Borrowing.
dini *dem.* these; proximal visible plural demonstrative. *Variant:* **din**.
dinon *dem.* those; medial visible plural demonstrative. *Variant:* **dino**.
dir *dem.* those; non-visible plural.
dok lala *ANI AL n.* type of heron, possibly the Pied Heron (*Egretta picata*). *See:* **dudom gwag**; **jur**; **man torbol**.
doltai *ANIAL n.* jellyfish.
Dom *place.n.* Dobo; name of town in the west of Aru.
du *CIII va.* bark.

dubam *num.* seven.
dudom gwag *ANI AL n.* type of heron found in mangroves; possibly the Striated Heron (*Ardeola striata*). *See:* **gwag**; **dok lala**; **jur**; **man torbol**.
Due *n.* God; god, lord, owner. *Variant:* **Duei**. *SG:* **Due** or **Duei**. *PL:* **Duid (je)**.
dug *vs.* deaf.
dum *num.* six. *Suffixing root:* **dub-**.
dur *va.* have diarrhea.

E - e

eb *ANIAL n.* rib.
ebal *va.* hoist (i.e., sail).
ebam *va.* tighten; tight. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
eg 1) *prep.* to, toward, (in order) to; goal-introducing marker. 2) *conj.* because; and.
eges *n.* bay.
egtog *CIIa intr vs.* burn.
eguil *INA AL n.* oven; cooking fire area. *See:* **tunor**.
el *CIII va.* do; make.
-el -ngab *inter.* how. *Note:* complex interrogative construction.
elel *n.* itch.
elmaor *ANIAL n.* type of eel. *See:* **kal gwak**.
ena *ANIAL n.* tineas.
eng 1) *conj.* but. *See:* **engmen**. 2) *conj.* then. 3) *conj.* and, numeral augments.
engfar *INA AL n.* charcoal. *Variant:* **far**.
engmen *conj.* but. *See:* **eng**.
enon *dem.* that; medial visible singular INANIMATE

demonstrative. *Variant:* **eno**; **en**.
er₁ *dem.* that; non-visible singular INANIMATE demonstrative.
er₂ *n.* current.
er la *n.* ocean current.
eregen *dem.* that; distal visible singular INANIMATE demonstrative. *Variant:* **ere**.
erer *ANIAL n.* largetooth sawfish.
estankadkada *va.* kneel. *See:* **kadkada**.
et *num.* one.
etor *va.* jump.
ewon *INA AL n.* fog; dew; haze.
eyam *ANI AL n.* type of bivalve shelled mollusc that produces pearls; mother of pearl; (pearl) oyster. *Variant:* **eam**.
eyam maes *INA AL.* pearl. *Lit:* **eyam** ‘mother of pearl’ + **maes** ‘its eye’. *Variant:* **eam maes**. *See:* **maes**.

F - f

faf₁ *INA INAL CIII n.* mouth.
faf lalei *n.* drool.
faf kalei *n.* lip. *See:* **kalei₂**.
faf foloi *n.* beard. *See:* **foloi**.
faf₂ 1) *n.* soil; ground. 2) *nature*.
faf je nangan (*Parallelism*) *n.* nature.
faf₃ *vs.* low.
faef *n.* pig.
fagar *n.* fence. *Note:* Borrowing.
fagen *va.* lie prone. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

fai 1) *prep.* from; source-introducing marker. 2) *va.* exit; remove (e.g., shirt). *Variant:* **fei**. *See:* **lfai**.
fajurin *INA AL n.* rock edge; edge of a cliff. *Etym:* **faf** ‘ground’ + **jurin** ‘nose’.
fajurjurin (*Redup.*) *n.* small rock edge.
fal *va.* widowed. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
falfalbu *n.* widow.
falatan *ANIAL n.* yellow parrotfish.
fali *CIIa va.* open. *Prefixing mutation root:* **-fli**.
fam *INA AL n.* second order of clan. *See:* **gwalan**.

- fan** *va.* fall.
- fanan** *ANI AL n.* male Greater Bird-of-Paradise (*Paradisaea a. apoda*).
- fandasi** *INA AL n.* foundation (of a building). *Note:* Borrowing.
- faneti** *ANIAL n.* safety pin. *Note:* Borrowing.
- fanga** *va.* yawn. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
- fangaltug** *CIIa va.* hug; embrace; clasp.
- fangan** 1) *CIIa va.* build. 2) *CIIa va.* wake someone up. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **fangn-**.
- fanu** *INA AL n.* village.
- far** 1) *CIIa va.* search, look for. 2) *va.* whistle. *See:* **engfar**.
- fare** *CI vs.* black. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **far-**.
- farfalu** *ANIAL n.* hammer. *See:* **martelo**.
- faritan** *INA AL n.* betel vine (the leaf used with betel nut).
- farteng** *ANIAL n.* laundry basin.
- fasien** *INA AL n.* seashore. *Usage:* Common in Benjuring and other villages. *Etym:* **faf** 'ground' + **sien** 'below'. *See:* **bel**; **belsien**; **teire**; **kulmaes**.
- fat**₁ *ANI AL n.* dead weight anchor; anchor consisting of a blunt heavy weight such as a stone or piece of concrete. *See:* **sigaes**.
- fat**₂ *va.* cross; go around; go through.
- faten** *AL n.* stick; trunk.
- fayon** *ANIAL n.* long paddle. *See:* **fir**₁.
- fefal** *va.* pull.
- fei** *va.* say.
- feifeijal** *ANIAL n.* star that appears before the morning star.
- feilog** *va.* spit out. *See:* **ner**₂.
- feisir** *CIII va.* inform; make known; point out. *Etym:* **fei** 'say' + **sir** 'remember'.
- fel** *conj.* and; with. *Variant:* **fei**.
- fer**₁ *ANIAL n.* shoulder blade.
- ferfere gul** *INAL irr n.* shoulder.
- fer**₂ *n.* silver.
- ferja** *ANI AL n.* type of pigeon, possibly the Pied Imperial Pigeon (*Ducula bicolor*). *Note:* Very common on islands between Aduar Island and the village of Kompane to the north.
- fes** *n.* amok. **Tamata dael fes.** People are running amok.
- fet** *CIII va.* split; separate; shatter; break to pieces. *See:* **fetrai**.
- fetei** *va.* ascend, climb up (a cliff or beach).
- feti** *ANIAL n.* box; chest. *Note:* Borrowing.
- fetfeti** (*Redup.*) *ANIAL n.* small box.
- fetrai** *vs.* break; open; smash. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **fetr-**.
- fikir** *va.* think. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kirkir je mangarti** (*Parallelism*) *INA AL n.* thoughts.
- fil** *INA AL n.* price.
- fin** *INA AL n.* side, part.
- fir**₁ *ANIAL n.* paddle. *See:* **fayon**.
- fir**₂ *va.* dream. *See:* **jerfir**.
- fis** *INA AL n.* night.
- fisen** *INA AL n.* type of bivalve clam found in mangrove area, approximately 2 cm in diameter.
- foen** *INA AL n.* piece (of something that has been cut).
- fol** *INA AL n.* breast.
- fol gwayer** *INA INAL n.* breast milk. *Lit.* **fol** 'breast' + **gwayer** 'its water'. *Variant:* **fol gwayir**.
- foloi** *INA AL n.* 1) body hair. 2) bird feather.
- fonjar** *n.* long machete. *See:* **bed**.
- forok** *ANIAL n.* fork. *Note:* Borrowing.
- fotlot** *INA AL n.* pencil. *Note:* Borrowing.
- fowor** *INA AL n.* bow. *Variant:* **foor**.
- foyet** *neg.* no; negation marker. *Variant:* **foet**.
- frang** *va.* all.
- ftultul** *va.* serious.
- fu** *ANIAL n.* heart.
- fu je bar** (*Parallelism*) *n.* spirit.
- fuai** *ANIAL n.* crocodile.
- fuat** *AL n.* roller; rolling wave (from the deep sea). *Note:* Always considered plural. *See:* **badel**.
- fufal** *n.* basket. *See:* **ngael**.
- fufon** *INA AL n.* roof.
- fufun** *INA AL n.* top; above; upper.
- fug**₁ *INA AL n.* hair.
- fug**₂ *va.* other.
- fugar** *ANI AL n.* hill; mountain; small hill. *Redup:* *ANI AL n.* **fugfugar**. small hill. *See:* **jugor**₂; **ngolngolan**.
- fui**₁ *INA AL n.* fruit.
- fui**₂ *vs.* complete; finished; done.
- fuir** *trans va.* wash (e.g., hands, table, chair, inside of the house, glasses, dishes, etc.). *See:* **tuir**.
- fuis** *ANIAL n.* cat. *Note:* Borrowing.
- fulan** *ANIAL n.* moon; month.
- fular** *va.* see; look upward.
- fulful tai** *ANIAL n.* type of jellyfish (edible).
- fun** *CIIa va.* kill; murder.
- fungfugar** *ANI AL n.* citrus fruit tree. *See:* **kaleilai**; **rorin**.
- funis** *CIIa vs.* thick. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **funk-**.
- funjai** *INA AL n.* ringworm.
- fusar** *va.* smash. *See:* **ngurjil**.
- fusing** *n.* care; headache. *Note:* Borrowing.

G - g

- gael** *CI* *va.* dig.
- gagang** *n.* handle. *Note:* Borrowing.
- gai** *intr va.* eat. *See:* **ag**.
- galang** *INA n.* bracelet. *Note:* Borrowing.
- galas** *ANIAL n.* glass. *Note:* Borrowing.
- galat** *va.* adhere to; stick to; cling to.
- gandang** *ANI AL n.* drum. *See:* **titer**; **bedug**; **daldal**.
Note: Borrowing.
- garej** *INA AL n.* church. Borrowing.
- gargaji** *va.* saw. *Note:* Borrowing.
- gasar** *CIIa va.* tear. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **gasr-**.
- gata** *INA AL n.* elastic band. *Note:* Borrowing.
- gatapel** *INA AL n.* slingshot. *Variant:* **gatatel**; **gatafel**.
Note: Borrowing.
- gbel** *va.* lick.
- geigai** *n.* hooks. *Note:* Borrowing.
- gelal** *va.* scratch.
- gjag** *CIII va.* clean; wipe down.
- glil** *va.* go around.
- gmai** 1) *va.* together; all together; as a whole. 2) *va.* complete; finish off; whole.
- gobak** *ANI AL n.* female Greater Bird-of-Paradise (*Paradisaea a. apoda*).
- gobar** *CIIa vs.* white; ripe. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **go-br-**. *Note:* Bare root often devoiced to **gober**.
See: **obar**.
- gobgobi** *ANI AL n.* King Bird-of-Paradise (*Cicinnurus r. regius*).
- gobi** *n.* message.
- godal** *n.* type of bamboo. *See:* **semal**.
- gof** *trans va.* close (e.g., cover, lid, etc.). *Note:* Variant of **kof** caused by devoicing. *See:* **kof**.
- gofat** *ANIAL n.* type of squid.
- gog** *va.* moored; anchored. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
- gogobu** *ANIAL n.* child; children. *See:* **anes**; **gajajam**; **gwau**. *Note:* Often used in plural sense to mean 'children'.
- goil** *CI va.* buy.
- gol** *ANIAL n.* crow; raven (general).
- golgol faf** *ANIAL n.* headhunter.
- gomag** *ANIAL n.* chin.
- gongon** *n.* commotion; unrest. *Note:* Possible borrowing.
- goyal** *ANIAL n.* gums (periodontal). *Syn:* **neyen tam**.
- gsogor** *CIIa va.* expel; send away. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **gsogr-**.
- gubol** *n.* jungle.
- gudoi** *CI vs. red.* *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **gud-**.
- gufar** *ANIAL n.* type of guava tree.
- guitan** *va.* cover.
- gul**₁ *ANI INAL irr n.* head.
- gul taber** (*Compound*) *n.* head.
- gul**₂ *INA AL n.* sugar.
- gulgul ken karet** *n.* chewing gum. *Variant:* **gulgul karet**. *Note:* Adapted borrowing.
- gulen** *ANIAL n.* rudder.
- gulor** *ANI AL n.* traditional earthenware water jar, made of red soil. *Note:* Smaller than a 'nguis'.
See: **nguis**; **diantan**.
- gun**₁ *INA AL n.* blood.
- gun**₂ *ANIAL n.* type of fish, possibly a snapper.
- guna** *INA AL n.* scale.
- gungar** *INA AL n.* sugarcane.
- gunting** 1) *ANI AL n.* scissors. 2) *va.* scissor. *Note:* Borrowing.
- guon** *INA AL n.* rain.
- gur**₁ 1) *INA AL n.* grass; brush. 2) *INA AL n.* tendon; muscle; blood vessel.
- gur**₂ *ANIAL n.* white cockatoo. *See:* **alkai**.
- gurafor** *INA AL n.* thorn.
- gurog** *va.* feverish. *See:* **jergurog**.
- gurtet** *ANIAL n.* shrimp.
- guru** *n.* teacher. *Note:* Borrowing.
- gusin** *n.* tail of a dovetail joint.
- guson** *INA AL n.* penis.
- guson tabar** *INA AL n.* testicle(s).
- gut** *va.* sing.
- gutan** *INA AL n.* garden.
- gwadal** *INA AL n.* pan; cooking pot.
- gwag** *n.* mangrove.
- gwagwar** *INA AL n.* medicine.
- gwagwer** *INA AL n.* root. *Variant:* **kei gwagwer**.
- gwai**₁ *ANIAL n.* domesticated mango tree. *See:* **baes**.
- gwai**₂ *INA AL n.* serrated edges of a 'tam' (the prong end of a solsolan spear). *See:* **solsolan**; **tam**₂; **afur**.
- gwaire** *CI vs. slow.* *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **gwair-**.
- gwajajam** *ANI AL n.* children. *Note:* Always considered plural. *Usage:* Rare. *See:* **anes**; **gogobu**; **gwau**.
- gwak la** *ANIAL n.* type of Honeyeater bird.
- gwak tai** *ANI AL n.* type of cormorant bird, possibly the Little Black Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax sulcirostris*).
- gwal**₁ *ANI INAL CI n.* younger sibling.

gwal₂ *ANI INAL n.* taro.
gwalam *va.* salivate. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
gwalan *INA AL n.* first order of clan. *See:* **fam**.
gwalar *INA AL n.* shelter. *See:* **lef**.
gwalar musmusim *INA AL n.* traditional house or shelter of spiritual importance, *rumah adat* (Malay for 'traditional house').
gwalgwal *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Pied Oystercatcher (*Haematopus longirostris*).
gwalian *ANIAL n.* sibling; friend.
jam je gwalian (*Parallelism*) *n.* siblings. *See:* **keiran**.
gwalor *INA AL n.* deep blue sea. *Note:* Also used to describe the colours green and blue.
gwalur *CIIa vs.* gree/blue. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **gwlr-**.
gwang *INA AL n.* portion.
gwangal *ANIAL n.* cuscus.
gwangal faf *ANIAL n.* ground cuscus.
gwangor *INA/ANI AL n.* rattan. *Note:* Almost always used in the plural.
gwanjin *CIII vs.* big. *Variant:* **jin**.
gwara *n.* sleep.
gwararig *CIIa vs.* sleep deeply, asleep. *See:* **gwara**.
guardok *INA AL n.* depression in the ground often full of water; puddle.
gwarfagfag *ANI AL n.* type of small fresh water turtle. *See:* **kalab**; **marauom**; **marnam**; **tabob**.
gwari *n.* island.
Gwari *place.n.* Gwaria; name of a Batuley village

and island. *See:* **Marguli**.
gwarjor *INA AL n.* late afternoon.
gwaros *ANI AL n.* large mangrove crab; reportedly the only type of crab in the Batuley region that is mangrove-dwelling. *See:* **mir**.
gwarsir 1) *ANI AL n.* old woman. 2) *CIII vs.* old (female). *See:* **tafer**.
gwarwenar *n.* the day before yesterday.
gwat *INA AL n.* river; sea channel. *See:* **mar**₁.
Gwatle *place.n.* Batuley; name of a Batuley village and island. **Gwatle i.** A Batuley person.
gwatle lir *n.* Batuley language. *See:* **ler**.
gwatle kal *n.* Batuley region. *See:* **kalei**₂.
gwau *ANI AL n.* child; younger friend. *See:* **anes**;
gajajam; **gogobu**.
gwayor *INA AL n.* water; fresh water.
gwei *ints.* very; intensifier. *Usage:* Rare. Used mainly in fixed expressions.
gwei jingal very small.
gwei liwan very strong.
gwei laflafur *ANIAL n.* small bat that eats insects.
gwei sebsebam *ANIAL n.* seahorse.
gweigolgol *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Greater Streaked Lory (*Chalcopsitta s. scintillata rubifrons*).
gweigwayor *n.* puddle, containing water.
gweigwei tangam *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Willie Wagtail (*Rhipidura leucophrys*).
gweingarngar *ANIAL n.* frog.
gweita *ANIAL n.* cockatoo (general).

H - h

habis *adv.* after. *Expr:* **habis en** after that. *Variant:* **abis**. *Note:* Borrowing.
hanger *n.* hanger (for clothes). *Note:* Borrowing.

I - i

i *indef.* a, an; indefinite article.
ibu *n.* Mrs. *Note:* Borrowing.
id 1) *pro.* they, them; third person plural pronoun.
 2) *poss.* their; third person plural possessive morpheme.
idafon *n.* yesterday.
ifar *va.* peel.
ig₁ *va.* use. *Variant:* **i**.
ig₂ *va.* very; intensifier.
ig₃ *va.* expel; exit.

ig₄ *va.* cluck; crow.
igaol *ANIAL n.* type of scrubfowl.
igar *CIIa va.* fight. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **igr-**.
il₁ 1) *n.* man; husband. 2) *vs.* be male.
ilbu *n.* man.
il₂ *va.* choose, select.
imgwang *CIIa va.* share.
inar *n.* tomorrow.
inat *inter.* who; singular form. *See:* **abai**.
inawan *INA AL n.* boat canopy for a 'letei' (traditional

sailing vessel). *See: letei; korong; saliblibir.*
ingal *CIIa* *va.* refuse; not want. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: ingl-.*
inguil *n.* devil fish.
ir *adv.* earlier.
it *CIII* *va.* *see.*
itoto *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Black Bittern

(*Ixobrychus flavicollis*).
itub *ANIAL n.* earthworm.
iwal *ANIAL n.* type of crab; green, rock-dwelling. *See: mir.*
iwei *INA INAL CI n.* fingernail.

J - j

ja₁ 1) *conj.* and; then. 2) *adv.* sequential aspect marker.
ja₂ *va.* say; speak.
ja₃ *CIIa* 1) *vs.* old. 2) *vs.* far; long.
Ja Meran *place.n.* former name of Meran Island. *See: Meran Gwari.*
ja₄ *va.* put; place.
jabon 1) *n.* sweat. 2) *va.* sweat. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**. *See: jerjabon.*
jabun *CIIa* *vs.* fast. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: jabn-.*
jadi *v.* happen; can; finished. *Note:* Borrowing.
jale *CI* *vs.* full. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: jael-.*
jaf *va.* defecate.
jag *CIII* *va.* guard; watch over.
jai *ANIAL n.* uncle.
jal *INA AL n.* path; way; direction, course. *Variant: jalan.*
jalen *INA AL n.* deep water. *See: lalal; degdegar.*
jaman *CIIa/CIIb* *va.* ask, wonder. *Suffixing root: jamn-.* *Note:* Means 'wonder' when occurring with intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
jambatang *ANI AL n.* bridge, wharf. *Note:* Borrowing.
jamor₁ *va.* walk.
jamor₂ *ANIAL n.* type of mackerel fish.
jan₁ *va.* 1) shake (something). 2) yell.
jan₂ *INA AL n.* type of edible seaweed. *See: sebam.*
janad *n.* greed. **Tamata nen ken janad.** That person is greedy.
janad je dunad (*Parallelism*) *n.* nobody.
janan *ANI INAL irr n.* mother-in-law.
jangel 1) *n.* bad odor, rotten smell. *See: burlem.*
jangjangel (*Redup.*) *n.* bad odor, rotten smell.
 2) *CIIa* *vs.* smell foul. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: jangl-.* *Note:* Used as an insult.
janom *INA AL n.* door.
jar₁ *n.* world; universe; location; Aru.
Jar Abel *n.* Aru Archipelago. *Syn: Jar Gwari.*
Jar Gwari *n.* Aru Island(s). *Syn: Jar Abel.*
jar juer *ANI n.* Aruese person/people.

jar keikui *n.* the entire universe.
jar letan *n.* overseas. *See: letan.*
jar₂ *n.* seaweed.
jaran *ANIAL n.* parrot.
jare *CI* *vs.* sick. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: jar-.* *See: nane.*
jarin *n.* fish trap made of fishing nets. *See: bubu.*
jau *INA n.* couple. *Usage:* Mostly used to describe animal couples.
Jawai *n.* Javanese person/people.
je₁ *part.* plural marker.
je₂ *conj.* and, conjoiner for nouns.
je₃ *CI* *va.* sew.
jebjebir *INA AL n.* mud on trail. *See: kolmal.*
jekai *INA AL n.* fire. *Variant: ajekai* (used in Sewer).
jekai ngofoi *INA AL n.* ember.
jel 1) *prep.* toward. 2) go toward; become.
jemal *CIIa* *vs.* wet. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: jeml-.* *Variant: jemel.* *Note:* Variant caused by devoicing.
jeor *CIIa* *vs.* cold.
jer *ANIAL n.* type of large univalve sea slug or snail.
jererer *ANI AL n.* type of long fishing spear. *Note:* Longer than a 'solsolan'. *See: solsolan.*
jereruei *n.* middle.
jerfir *n.* dream. *See: fir₂.*
jerjabon *n.* sweating (the action of sweating). *See: jabon.*
jergurog *INA AL n.* fever. *See: gurog.*
jertai *n.* clothing.
jerule *n.* argument. *See: rule.*
ji *va.* slide; push.
jiar *INA AL n.* bait.
jier *ANIAL n.* in-law.
jifar *INA AL n.* war.
jig *ANIAL n.* fish.
jig lablabei *ANI AL n.* stingray (general).
jil *ANIAL n.* krait snake.
jilam *ANIAL n.* monitor lizard.
jiler *INA AL n.* flower.
jiljil *ANI AL n.* type of small edible clam, 1 to 2cm in

diameter, found on sandy beaches of Mami Island.

jimin *INA INAL/AL n.* chin.

jin *ANI INAL CIII n.* mother.

jinges *INA AL n.* stuff; supplies; material.

jira₁ *ANI AL n.* type of fish, jumping halfbeak (Djonler & Gordon forthcoming).

Jira₂ *n.* Jira Beach; name of a beach on Jursiang Island, next to Jursiang village.

Jira ken eges Jira Bay; name of a bay on the shores of Jursiang Island, next to Jursiang village.

jis *va.* urinate. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

jisin *INA AL n.* fish hook.

belbel jisin *INA AL n.* type of small fish hook used when fishing with a rod. *See:* **belbael**.

kaling jisin *INA AL n.* large fish hook used when fishing without a rod. *See:* **kaling**.

jit *va.* stare.

jitei *n.* coconut milk.

jo *va.* blow.

jojo jekai *INA AL n.* blowpipe, for blowing on flames.

job *CIII vs.* good.

jodol *ANI AL n.* type of large rock, found in littoral zone.

jofor *va.* break; fracture such that the object breaks into two or more pieces. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:*

jofr- *See:* **bat**.

jol *CIIa va.* request; ask.

jonjonoi *INA AL n.* putrid smell; fish odour.

joran *n.* action of going with the wind. **Aban am joran.** He went (i.e., sailed) with the wind.

jowoi *prep.* until; up to. *Variant:* **joi**.

ju₁ *va.* slice.

ju₂ *ANI AL n.* shark.

juei *INA AL n.* side; edge.

juer *ANI n.* person; resident.

jugor₁ 1) *INA AL n.* tail. 2) *va.* tow; pull.

jugor₂ *n.* hill. *Usage:* Used in Sewer. *See:* **ngolngolan; fugar**.

juju *ANI AL n.* gecko. *Usage:* Used in every Batuley village except Kabalsiang. *See:* **jungjunglai**.

jungjunglai *ANI AL n.* gecko. *Usage:* Used in Kabalsiang village. *See:* **juju**.

jur *ANI AL n.* type of heron, possibly the Great-billed Heron (*Ardea sumatrana*). *See:* **dudom gwag; dok lala; man torbol**.

jurin *INA INAL/AL n.* nose; edge, cape. *Suffixing root:* **jurn-**.

jurjur *ANI AL n.* spoon.

juron *CIIa va.* smell.

Jursien *place.n.* Jursiang; name of a Batuley village and island. *See:* **Najeluni**.

juta *num.* million. *Note:* Borrowing.

juwalar *ANI AL n.* cockroach.

K - k

ka *CIIa va.* hunt; chase. *Variant:* **ga**. *Note:* Variant caused by voicing.

kabal *INA AL n.* ship. *Note:* Borrowing.

kabal nini *n.* airplane.

Kabalsien *place.n.* Kabalsiang; name of a Batuley village. *See:* **Simerfin**.

kabar *INA AL n.* news. *Note:* Borrowing in frequent use. *See:* **ben**.

kabe ob *inter.* how many; how much. *Variant:* **kab ob**.

kabel₁ *ANI AL n.* bamboo tongs.

kabel₂ *INA AL n.* cable. *Note:* Borrowing.

kabeler *INA INAL CII n.* tongue. *Suffixing root:* **kabelr-**.

kabon *INA AL n.* smoke.

kabunbun *ANI AL n.* type of parrotfish.

kad *ANI AL n.* trousers.

kad taftaf *ANI AL n.* long trousers. *See:* **taf**.

kad narnar *ANI AL n.* shorts. *See:* **nar**.

kada *ANI AL n.* knee. *Redup:* **kadkada**.

kadai *INA AL n.* foreshaft part of a fishing harpoon. *See:* **ar je kadai**.

kader *INA AL n.* chair. *Note:* Borrowing.

kadug *ANI AL n.* sack, bag (e.g., of rice). *Note:* Borrowing.

kaem *pro.* you; second person plural pronoun.

kaes *ANI AL n.* older sibling. *See:* **tata**.

kafdar *ANI AL n.* type of Kingfisher bird. *See:* **ngular; tatawar lara**.

kafkaf *ANI AL n.* type of crab, rock-dwelling, stone coloured, smaller than a 'dewor'. *See:* **mir**.

kafuag *INA AL n.* bean.

kai₁ *ANI AL n.* wood; tree. *Variant:* **kei**.

ka jei jei *ANI AL n.* driftwood.

kei dada *INA AL n.* firewood. *See:* **a**.

kei kalei *INA AL n.* bark. *See:* **kalei**₂.

kei lala *ANI AL n.* papaya tree.

kei langlangei *INA AL n.* large branch.

- kei ugen** *AL n.* tree stump.
- kai₂** *n.* father; older man (general). *See:* **aem**; **bafa**; **bai₁**; **mam**; **ua**.
- kaig** *pro.* you; second person singular pronoun. *Variant:* **kai**.
- kal gwak** *ANIAL n.* type of eel. *See:* **elmaor**.
- kal gwargwar** *INA AL n.* bracelet.
- kalab** *ANI AL n.* hawkbill turtle. *See:* **gwarfagfag**; **marauom**; **marnam**; **tabob**.
- Kalabkoi** *place.n.* Kalabkoi Point; name of a cape and neighbourhood in Kabalsiang village, where the elementary school and several houses are located.
- kalag** 1) *CIII va.* hide; store, keep safe. 2) *CIII va.* report someone (to the authorities). *Prefixing mutation root:* **-glag**.
- kalei₁** *INA AL n.* boat (general).
- kalei₂** 1) *INA INAL CI n.* skin; body. 2) *n.* region. *Variant:* **kal**. *See:* **Gwatle**.
- kaleilai** *ANI AL n.* type of small lemon tree, used to make sambal. *See:* **rorin**; **fungfungar**.
- kaleng** *ANIAL n.* can; tin can. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kaler** *INA AL n.* colour. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kaling** *INA AL n.* fishing line.
- kaljidjidar** *ANIAL n.* rainbow.
- kam₁** 1) *pro.* we (exclusive); first person plural exclusive pronoun. 2) *poss.* our (exclusive); first person plural exclusive possessive morpheme.
- kam₂** *poss.* your; second person singular possessive morpheme.
- kamar** *INA AL n.* room. *Note:* Borrowing. *See:* **ngonngon**.
- kamor** *ANI AL n.* type of brush-turkey, possibly the Black-billed Brush-turkey (*Talegalla fuscirostris occidentis*).
- kanang** *poss.* my; first person singular possessive morpheme. *Variant:* **kana**.
- kanawar** *CIIb vs.* hungry. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **kanawr-**.
- kanele** *CI vs.* sour. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **kanel-**.
- kanof** *ANIAL n.* button. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kaom** *ANIAL n.* scorpion.
- kaor** *INA AL n.* lime.
- kar₁** *CIII va.* bite. *Variant:* **gar**. *Note:* Variant caused by voicing.
- kar₂** *INA AL n.* urine.
- kara** *INA AL n.* dried coconut tree leaf burned for making smoke.
- karamba** *n.* cage (i.e., for fish or for pigs). *Note:* Borrowing. *See:* **rogo**.
- karawe** *CI vs.* thirsty. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **karaw-**.
- karja** *INA AL n.* work.
- karsir** *AL n.* memory. *See:* **sir**.
- karsirem** *ANIAL n.* type bandicoot.
- karta** *ANIAL n.* small rodent; rat.
- kartas** *n.* paper. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kartuir** *n.* droplet. *Variant:* **kutir** (Pszczolka n.d.-a).
- karu** *num.* eight.
- kas** *ANIAL n.* cupboard. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kasar** *CIIa vs.* rough; nasty; crack; split. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **kasr-**. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kat₁** *CIII vs.* bad.
- kat₂** *CIII va.* wait. *Variant:* **gat**. *Note:* Variant caused by voicing.
- katartar** *ANIAL n.* type of grouper.
- kau** *num.* four.
- kawan** *ANIAL n.* type of bird, possibly the the Black Butcherbird (*Cracticus quoyi*).
- kawat** *n.* wire. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kawoiwoi** *n.* reflection; shadow. *See:* **salal kawoiwoi**.
- kayor** *ANIAL n.* type of mollusc, found in mangroves.
- kefing** *INA AL n.* money. *Variant:* **kefeng**. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kei fuifui** 1) *INA AL n.* type of fruit. 2) *INA AL n.* adam's apple.
- kei guilguil** *ANIAL n.* ankle bone.
- keidag** *n.* cloth; blanket.
- keijin** *ANI n.* sun. *See:* **lara**; **taferlara**.
- keikui** *vs.* whole; complete.
- keikuikui** (*Redup.*) *n.* banana heart; cluster.
- keilab** *INA AL n.* board.
- keiran** 1) *INA AL n.* tree branch. *See:* **ran**.
- keiranran** (*Redup.*) *INA AL n.* small tree branch. 2) *ANIAL n.* sister.
- jam je keiran** (*Parallelism*) *n.* sisters. *See:* **gwalian**.
- keiraraun** *INA AL n.* leaf. *See:* **raun**.
- keitager** *INA AL n.* fungus, on vegetation. *Variant:* **keitaga**.
- kelkeltabar** *n.* crowbar; lever.
- kem** *poss.* your; second person plural possessive morpheme.
- ken** *poss.* his, her, its; third person singular possessive morpheme.
- kerker** *ANIAL n.* grater, for sago and coconut.
- ketal** *ANIAL n.* kettle. *Note:* Borrowing.
- kirjaban** *ANIAL n.* mat.
- kodar** 1) *ANIAL n.* woman; wife. 2) *vs.* female.
- kodarbu** *ANIAL n.* woman.
- kodu** *ANIAL n.* vagina.
- koef** *INA AL n.* coffee.
- koel** *vs.* narrow.
- kof** *CIII intr va.* close. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**. *Variant:* **gof**. *Note:* Variant caused by voicing.

kofi *INA AL n.* hat. *Note:* Borrowing.
kog *ANIAL n.* juvenial sago palm tree.
koi *va.* press.
kolmal *INA AL n.* mud, in mangrove area and seafloor. *Variant:* **kolmai**. *See:* **jebjebir**.
komo *neg.* not; negation marker.
kon *interj.* yes.
konag *INA AL n.* raw fish.
kor *va.* hit. *Variant:* **gor**. *Note:* Variant caused by devoicing.
korkor *n.* celebration.
korong *n.* canopy cover on a speedboat or motorboat. *See:* **inawan**; **saliblibir**.
kot *INA AL n.* city. *Note:* Borrowing.
kotor 1) *INA AL n.* dirt; dust; filth. 2) *vs.* dirty. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **kotr-**. *Note:* Borrowing.
kowoi *n.* plan; blueprint.
kubal *ANIAL n.* type of mangrove tree.
kubil *ANIAL n.* type of bird, possibly the New Guinea Bronzewing bird (*Henicophaps albifrons schlegeli*).
kubur *CIIa va.* bury. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **kubr-**. *Note:* Borrowing. *See:* **ngol**.
kudaer *ANIAL n.* cassowary.
kudkud *INA AL n.* sideburn. *Note:* Borrowing.
kudomsai *INA AL n.* cloud.
kuel *ANIAL CII n.* thigh. *Suffixing root:* **kul-**.
kufal *ANIAL n.* type of flat basket for rice, made from palm leaves.
kui *CI va.* close. *Variant:* **gui**. *Note:* Variant caused by voicing.
kuikui (*Redup.*) *n.* cork, plug.

kul *INA AL n.* sand.
kulmaes *n.* Small strip of sandy beach. *Etym:* **kul** ‘sand’ + **maes** ‘its eye’. *See:* **fasien**; **bel**; **besien**; **teire**.
Kulbalbal *place.n.* Kulbalbal Island, name of a Batuley island south of Jursiang Island.
kulele *ANIAL n.* guitar; ukulele.
kulor *ANIAL n.* breadfruit tree.
kum *ANIAL n.* stone; rock.
kumkum gwau *ANIAL n.* gravel; pebbles.
kum rangrang *ANI AL n.* coral; coral line that separates deep seafloor from shallow area. *Syn:* **kum matmatar**.
kum matmatmar *ANI AL n.* coral. *Syn:* **kum rangrang**.
kume *prep.* concerning; about.
Kumul *place.n.* Kumul; name of a Batuley village and island.
kunel *va.* yellow. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
kunsi *va.* communal.
gutan kunsi *n.* communal garden.
burom kunsi *n.* communal part of littoral zone.
kuregan *adv.* maybe.
kurita *ANIAL n.* octopus.
kuruban *INA AL n.* sacrifice; Islamic sacrifice. *Note:* Borrowing.
kut₁ *CIIa vs.* strong.
kut₂ *ANIAL n.* headlice; flea.
kut jin *ANIAL n.* mother louse.
kut₃ *n.* type of fish.

L - l

la₁ *INA AL n.* sea.
la₂ *adv.* if.
la₃ *emph.* emphasis marker. *Note:* Possible borrowing.
labar *CIIa va.* widen; open. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **labr-**.
labe *CI vs.* wide. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **lab-**.
lablabei (*Redup.*) *n.* width.
labun *ANIAL n.* shirt.
laes *num.* three. *Suffixing 3PL root:* **las-**.
lafar *INA AL n.* trap; snare.
lagar *INA AL n.* gap.
lagari 1) *adv.* suddenly. 2) *adv.* finally.
lagor *va.* sweep.
laglagor (*Redup.*) *ANI AL n.* broom, usually made of palm leaf ribs.

lagu *INA AL n.* song. *Note:* Borrowing.
lai₁ *va.* run.
lai₂ *INA AL n.* ginger.
lair *INA AL n.* flame; light. *See:* **layor**.
lalal *INA AL n.* deep trench through the littoral zone which boats follow in order to navigate through the dangerously shallow area. **Ken lalal nal ob te?** Where is the deepest path to take? *See:* **degdegar**; **jalen**.
lalangal *ANI AL n.* type of very small, white crab; beach-dwelling. *See:* **mir**.
lalau *ANIAL n.* spider.
Lalawui *n.* ethnic Chinese person/people. *Variant:* **Lalau**.
laui je falade (*Parallelism*) *n.* foreigner.
lalem *CIIa vs.* sweet; delicious. *Suffixing SG/3PL*

root: **lalm-**.
laler *ANIAL n.* fly.
lang *ANIAL n.* arrow made of areca palm.
langan *CII va.* acquire; find; get; meet. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: langn-*.
langlangei *n.* branch; offshot; stem.
lanka *n.* form of martial arts traditional to Batuley region. *Note:* Tradition reportedly imported from Sulawesi many centuries ago with Muslims who settled in the Batuley region.
laor *INA AL n.* edible sea worm.
lap *CIII va.* slap. *Note:* Borrowing.
laptop *ANIAL n.* laptop. *Note:* Borrowing.
lar 1) *INA AL n.* sail. 2) *va.* sail.
lara *ANI n.* sun. *See: taferlara; keijin.*
larlar jertatawal *ANIAL n.* bannerfish.
laur *INA AL n.* seagrass.
lawe *CI vs.* fast. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: law-*.
layor *va.* shine. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**. *See: lair.*
lef *INA AL n.* house. *See: gwalar.*
lei dumdum *ANIAL n.* lionfish.
leilai gwayor *ANI AL n.* dragonfly. *Variant: leilei gwayor.*
leilaiaim *ANIAL n.* kite. *Note:* Borrowing.
lel *ANI AL n.* leg; whole leg from hip to toes. *See: abei.*
leleam *ANIAL n.* needle.
Lelesin *place.n.* Lelesin Cape; name of a cape south of Jursiang village on Jursiang Island.
lem *INA AL n.* glue, for patching a boat. *Note:* Borrowing.
lemor *ANIAL n.* dolphin.
ler *INA INAL CII n.* voice; language; teaching; knowledge; sound. *See: gwatle lir.*
ler gwangur (*Compound*) *INA INAL n.* neck. *Suffixing root: ler gwangr-. Lit: ler* ‘voice’ + *gwangur* ‘branch’; ‘root’.
lerngon *ANIAL n.* type of cockatoo. *See: gweita.*
letan *INA AL n.* ocean.
letei *INA AL n.* traditional sailing vessel. *See: bog; dab;*

kalei₁; motor; spid.
kei letei *n.* crossbeams of a ‘letei’ (traditional sailing vessel).
lfai *va.* exit; take off. *Variant: lfei. See: fai.*
li₁ *ANIAL n.* louse eggs.
li₂ *INA AL n.* cave.
lim 1) *INA INAL CIII n.* hand; arm.
lim aur *n.* finger.
 2) *vs.* right. **Fin lim.** Right side. 3) *num.* five.
lis *ANIAL n.* hammerhead shark. *See: ju.*
lofes *CIIa vs.* many, much. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: lofk-*.
lofloef *INA AL n.* flag.
log *INA AL n.* banana heart; collection of several bunches of bananas on a single large stem. *See: rug.*
lola *ANI AL n.* Trochus Niloticus; type of sea snail. *Note:* Borrowing.
lolgwai *ANIAL n.* grasshopper.
long *va.* vomit.
loyang *ANI AL n.* cooking pot; baking pan. *Note:* Borrowing.
lu *INA AL n.* tear(s).
lug *va.* descend.
lugar *INA AL n.* harpoon line used on a fishing harpoon. *See: ar je kadai.*
lukur *ANI AL n.* type of fruit-dove, possibly the Pink-spotted Fruit-Dove (*Ptilinopus perlatus zonurus*) and/or Wallace’s Fruit-Dove (*Ptilinopus wallacii*); reportedly not in the Batuley region anymore.
lunglungon *ANI AL n.* type of fruit-dove, possibly the Orange-fronted Fruit-Dove (*Ptilinopus aurantiifrons*), the Coroneted Fruit-Dove (*Ptilinopus c. coronulatus*) and/or the Orange-bellied Fruit-Dove (*Ptilinopus iozonus iozonus*).
lur *INA AL n.* coconut oil. *See: solar; bensin; mintan.*
lure *CI vs.* clean. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: lur-*.

M - m

ma *adv.* just, now; immediate aspectual marker.
madimuin *INA AL n.* cheek.
madin *n.* side.
madmar *n.* north. **Anen madmar.** North wind.
mael *CI va.* laugh.
maen 1) *va.* drift. 2) *va.* float. *Note:* Means ‘float’ when occurring with intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

maer *n.* morning; dawn; daylight.
maes *ANI INAL irr n.* eye. *3SG: maes. Suffixing root: mat-*.
mat- je dedeni sleepy. *E.g.: Ang matang je dedeni.* I am sleepy.
mat- jar *n.* conjunctivitis. *Lit. maes* ‘eye’ + *jar* ‘sick’.

- mat-foloi** *n.* eyelash.
- mage** *CI* vs. bitter; not sweet; without sugar; salty. Suffixing SG/3PL root: **mag-**.
- magrerei** *n.* long time ago; the old days. Variant: **magrere**.
- mai** *va.* come.
- malefei** *INA INAL CI n.* forehead.
- mam** *ANI AL n.* grandfather; father. *Usage:* Mostly used in Kabalsiang and by some people in Benjuring to mean ‘father’; means ‘grandfather’ in most other Batuley villages. *See:* **aem**; **bafa**; **bai₁**; **kai₂**; **ua**.
- mama** *n.* mother. *Usage:* Used in Benjuring.
- man** *ANIAL n.* bird (general).
- man lala** *ANIAL n.* type of bird, possibly the White-bellied Cuckoo-shrike (*Coracina papuensis hypoleuca*) and/or the Slender-billed Cicadabird (*Coracina tenuirostris aruensis*).
- man barbar** *ANIAL n.* duck (general).
- man faliliwan** *ANIAL n.* type of owl.
- (man) gwangam** *ANI AL n.* owl, general term for certain species. *Note:* Used for the following types of owls: Rufous Owl (*Ninox rufa aruensis*) and Marbled Frogmouth (*Podargus o. ocellatus*).
- (man) mei la** *ANI AL n.* type of bittern bird, possibly the Forest Bittern (*Zonerodius heliosylus*).
- man torbol** *ANI AL n.* type of heron, possibly the Rufous Night Heron (*Nycticorax caledonica caledonica*). *See:* **dok lala**; **dudom gwag**; **jur**.
- manam** *INA AL n.* food.
- manam bat** *INA AL n.* type of sago congee.
- mancari** *INA AL n.* productivity. *Note:* Borrowing.
- mangar** 1) *ANI AL n.* grouper (general). 2) *proper.n* Mangar, an Aruese clan name.
- mangar matmatar** *ANIAL n.* type of grouper.
- mangar mugmug** *ANIAL n.* type of grouper.
- mangar katartar** *ANIAL n.* type of grouper.
- mangen** *CIIa* vs. sharp. Suffixing SG/3PL root: **mangn-**.
- mangkot** *n.* dish; plate. *Note:* Borrowing.
- mangur** 1) *n.* mucus. 2) *CIIa* vs. have a cold; have a runny nose; have the flu.
- mangyel** *AL n.* growth (i.e., the growth of a child).
- maniwe** *CI* vs. thin. Suffixing SG/3PL root: **maniw-**.
- mar₁** *ANIAL n.* sea channel, passage. *See:* **gwat**.
- mar₂** *va.* snore. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
- marauom** *ANI AL n.* tortoise; large turtle. *See:* **gwarfagfag**; **kalab**; **marnam**; **tabob**.
- mare** *INA AL n.* song. *See:* **lagu**.
- Marguli** *place.n.* former name of Gwaria village, a Batuley village. *See:* **Gwari**.
- marlewe** *CI* vs. bright. Suffixing SG/3PL root: **marlew-**.
- marmare** *CI* vs. dry. Suffixing SG/3PL root: **marmar-**. *Note:* Used for living things. *See:* **deger**.
- marnam** *ANI AL n.* a type of sea turtle. *See:* **gwarfagfag**; **kalab**; **marauom**; **tabob**.
- marngai** *CI* vs. light.
- martelo** *ANI AL n.* hammer. Variant: **martelu**. *Note:* Borrowing. *See:* **farfalu**.
- mas** *INA AL n.* gold.
- masan** *INA AL n.* salt.
- jig masmasan** *n.* salted fish.
- masikid** *ANI AL n.* mosque. *Usage:* Term used in Sewer. Variant: **masjid**. *Note:* Variant term used outside of Sewer.
- mat kadmadar** *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Spangled Kookaburra (*Dacelo tyro tyro*).
- matfui** *ANI AL n.* sea cucumber (general). *See:* **namat**; **sem**; **tangolngol**.
- Medan** *place.n.* Marlasi, former name of Marlasi; Kola village to the north of the Batuley region.
- Mednui** *ANI n.* people from Marlasi.
- mei** *va.* stay; remain.
- mei la** *ANIAL n.* type of blue parrotfish.
- mej** *INA AL n.* table. *Note:* Borrowing.
- mel** *ANIAL n.* green parrotfish.
- men** *adv.* then. Variant: **meng**.
- mer** *INA n.* day.
- mer on** *INA n.* today.
- mererei** *n.* early morning.
- Meran Gwari** *place.n.* Meran Island; name of a small island close to Aduar Island. *See:* **Ja Meran**.
- mil** *INA AL n.* fat.
- minag** *INA AL n.* firearm.
- mintan** *INA AL n.* kerosene. *See:* **lur**; **bensin**; **solar**. *Note:* Borrowing.
- mir** *ANI AL n.* sea crab (general); seagrass-dwelling, female is grey and brown, male is blue and larger than female. *See:* **dewor**; **kafkaf**; **iwal**; **gwaros**; **lalangal**.
- mloi** *va.* suspend.
- mon** 1) *INA AL n.* front . 2) *CIII* vs. front, ahead; first.
- monjuer** *AL n.* ancestors.
- tu monmonei** the first people (the ancestors). *See:* **tu**.
- moni** *n.* something.
- motor** *INA AL n.* motorboat. *See:* **bog**; **dab**; **kalei₁**; **letei**; **spid**. *Note:* Borrowing.
- mrir** *va.* fall over.
- mrer** *va.* dance. *See:* **ror**.

muan *INA AL n.* any domesticated plant or fruit grown in a garden.
mug *ANIAL n.* banana tree.
mugmug *ANI AL n.* any of several different types of small birds, which also have short, small beaks.
mugmug fananan *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Yellow-bellied Sunbird (*Nectarinia jugularis*).
mugmug tagar lab *ANI AL n.* type of bird,

possibly the Brown Honeyeater (*Lichmera indistincta*).

muil *va.* retron; go back.
muir 1) *INA AL n.* back. 2) *vs.* back; behind; last.
mumur *CII vs.* smooth. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **mumr-**.
mur *ANIAL n.* ant.

N - n

na *CIIa va.* teach. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
naen *va.* swim.
nag *irr va.* 1) want. 2) say. *1SG: kog. 2SG: mog. 3SG: nag. 1PL.INCL: tag. 1PL.EXCL: mag. 2PL: minag. 3PL: dag.*
nai₁ *pro.* he, she, it; third person singular pronoun. *Variant: nei.*
nai₂ *va.* cook.
Najeluni *place.n.* former name of Jursiang village, a Batuley village. *Etym:* Possibly related to 'najel', a type of fig-like fruit that is commonly gathered and dried in Jursiang village. *See: Jursien.*
nal *CIII irr va.* get; give; take; receive; transfer. *Prdm: 1SG: kol. 2SG: mol. 3SG: nal. 1PL.INCL: tal. 1PL.EXCL: mal. 2PL: minal. 3PL: dal.*
nam *irr va.* cause; do. *Prdm: 1SG: kom. 2SG: mom. 3SG: nam. 1PL.INCL: tam. 1PL.EXCL: mam. 2PL: minam. 3PL: dam.*
namat *ANI AL n.* type of sea cucumber. *See: matfui; sem; tangolngol.*
nana *va.* crawl; creep.
nane *CI vs.* sick. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: nan-. See: jare.*
nanen *dem.* this; proximal visible singular ANIMATE demonstrative. *Variant: nane; nan.*
nanga *va.* steal.
naontui *adv.* still; imperfective aspect marker. *Variant: nantui.*
nar *CIIa vs.* long. *Redup: narnar n.* length. *See: kad narnar.*
narag *n.* time. *See: taung je narag.*
narat *neg.* not yet; negative inceptive marker. *Variant: nara.*
nau *ANIAL n.* sugar palm tree.
nawai *ANIAL n.* bird of prey.
nawai lus *ANIAL n.* type of buzzard bird, possibly the Long-tailed Buzzard (*Henicopernis*

longicauda).
nen *irr va.* drink. *Prdm: 1SG: kon. 2SG: mon. 3SG: nen. 1PL.INCL: sen. 1PL.EXCL: minen. 2PL: minen. 3PL: den.*
nenon *dem.* that; medial visible singular ANIMATE demonstrative. *Variant: neno; nen.*
ner₁ *dem.* that; non-visible singular ANIMATE demonstrative.
ner₂ *va.* spit. *See: feilog.*
neregen *dem.* that; distal visible singular ANIMATE demonstrative. *Variant: nere.*
netag 1) *ANIAL n.* chisel. 2) *va.* chisel.
neyen *INA INAL CII n.* tooth. *Suffixing root: nen-.*
neyen tam gums. *Lit: neyen 'tooth' + tam 'flesh'. Syn: goyal. See: tam₁.*
ngael *INA AL n.* type of traditionally made basket. *See: fufual.*
ngaf *vs.* left. **fin ngaf** left side *See: lim.*
ngair *INA AL n.* chili; hot pepper.
ngam *INA AL n.* long leaf.
ngamai 1) *INA AL n.* fragrance. 2) *n.* heaven. 3) *CI vs.* smell pleasant.
ngamar *INA AL n.* sky.
ngangam *INA AL n.* sound; noise.
ngangante *n.* earring.
ngaor *INA AL n.* celebration; feast; party. *Variant: ngangaor.*
ngar *n.* type of plate; used for betel nut and/or for offerings.
ngaran *INA AL n.* name.
ngaulul *n.* blugeon for fish, approximately 30 - 40 cm long.
ngei *prep.* toward.
ngenaes *ANIAL n.* pineapple tree.
ngofoj *n.* dust; fine earth. *Usage:* Term used in Sewer.
ngoiwan *INA AL n.* honey. *Usage:* Used mainly in southern Batuley villages. In northern Batuley villages, the Malay term *madu* is used.

ngol₁ *INA AL n.* back.
ngol tuil *INA AL n.* spine.
ngol₂ *va.* bury. *See:* **kubur**.
ngolngolan *n.* hill. *Usage:* Used in Sewer. *See:* **fugar**; **jugor₂**.
ngom *INA AL n.* cloth.
ngomor *ANI AL n.* palm tree driftwood, mostly from mangrove area.
ngon *ANIAL n.* type of cuttlefish.
ngonngon *INA AL n.* room. *Usage:* Used in Kabalsiang, Sewer, Jursiang and possibly other villages except Benjuring. *See:* **kamar**.
nguilar *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Azure Kingfisher (*Alcedo azurea wallaceana*). *See:* **kafdar**; **tatawar lara**.
nguis *ANI AL n.* large earthen water jar. *See:* **gulor**; **diantan**.
ngurjil *vs.* destroyed; smashed. *See:* **fusar**.
ni *va.* fly.
nini (*Redup.*) *ANIAL n.* flying fish.
nin *irr va.* sleep; lie down. *Prdm:* 1SG: **koin**. 2SG:

moin 3SG: **nin**. 1PL.INCL: **sin**. 1PL.EXCL: **min**. 2PL: **minin**. 3PL: **din**.
ninitui *ANIAL n.* spirit; ghost; person/people who has passed away. *Note:* Possibly plural (uncertain).
nol *num.* zero. *Note:* Borrowing.
nongor *va.* go through; go along.
nono *INA AL n.* message.
nor₁ *ANIAL n.* coconut tree.
nor gobar *INA AL n.* mature coconut (fruit). *See:* **gobar**.
nor gwelgwael *INA AL n.* young coconut (fruit).
nor₂ *va.* stretch out; give; protrude.
nu *ANIAL n.* stonefish.
num *va.* dive. **Maban manum tabar je**. We are going diving in the rocky sea floor area.
numlum tai *ANI AL n.* type of cormorant bird, possibly the Little Pied Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax melanoleucos*).
nungei *INAL n.* face. *Suffixing root:* **nung-**.

O - o

ob *inter.* where.
obar *va.* ripen. *See:* **gobar**.
ogogo *INA AL n.* ash.
oi *va.* die.
oilala *ANIAL n.* squash plant.
oitel *ANIAL n.* corn plant.

onen *dem.* this; proximal visible singular INANIMATE demonstrative. *Variant:* **one**; **on**.
or *va.* pound (e.g., sago).
oramen *adv.* just; inceptive aspect marker.
orangkai *n.* village head. *Note:* Borrowing.

P - p

pakpakal *INA AL n.* chisel for caulking the seams of a boat's hull with rope. *Note:* Borrowing.
pamalas *vs.* lazy. *Note:* Borrowing.
pandit *ANI AL n.* ordained protestant pastor. *Note:* Borrowing.
pastor *ANI AL n.* Roman Catholic priest. *Note:* Borrowing.
payong *INA AL n.* umbrella. *Note:* Borrowing.

pena *n.* pen. *Note:* Borrowing.
pinsil *n.* pencil. *Note:* Borrowing.
pita *n.* ribbon. *Note:* Borrowing.
plafon *n.* ceiling. *Note:* Borrowing.
plaster 1) *n.* plaster, bandage, Band-aid. 2) *va.* plaster. *Variant:* **plester**. *Note:* Borrowing.
pot *n.* pot. *Note:* Borrowing.

R - r

ra *INA AL n.* speech, talk; legal case.
rabi *INA AL n.* type of sago, which one pounds.
rag *CIII va.* know; understand.
ragat *va.* combine.

rai *INA AL n.* land; forest.
rei madim *INA AL n.* edge of forest.
rai *INA AL n.* waste, refuse.
raiem *CI va.* squeeze. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **raib-**.

rak *n.* shelf. *Note:* Borrowing.
ran *AL n.* branch. *See:* **keiran**.
ran aire *va.* inhale; breathe; take a breath.
rantei *ANIAL n.* necklace.
rar *ANIAL n.* girl.
rararbu *ANIAL n.* young girl.
rare *CI vs.* hot. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **rar-**.
rarom *INA AL n.* water in a boat, which requires bailing out.
ras 1) *INA AL n.* sense; taste; feeling. 2) *va.* sense; taste; feel. *Note:* Borrowing.
raseg *INA AL n.* large group of people.
rat₁ *num.* hundred.
rati *num.* one hundred.
rat₂ *CIII vs.* flat.
rauiluil *INA AL n.* joke. *See:* **ra**.
raun *INA AL n.* leaf; sheet.
angor raun *n.* sheet of paper, for writing.
surat raun *n.* sheet of a book.
ref *CIII va.* fell; cut down (i.e., a tree).
remtan *INA AL n.* upper part of a sago processing trough.
ren *vs.* close. *Note:* Usually reduplicated, functions as a modifier.
rengar *CIIa va.* hear; listen.
rewon *ANIAL n.* ladder; stairs. *Variant:* **reon**.
Rewon Gwari *place.n.* Ladder Island; name of a small island north of Kabalsiang, named for the ladder-like steps carved into its cliffside.
rewon taem *INA AL n.* stair step.

ri *ANIAL n.* dugong.
rialalar *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Mangrove Robin (*Eopsaltria pulverulenta*) and/or the Black-headed Whistler (*Pachycephala monacha*).
ribil *ANIAL n.* arrow with iron head.
rifun *num.* thousand.
rifuni *num.* one thousand.
rir 1) *CI va.* push. 2) *CI va.* win (because of luck).
rirer *INA AL n.* earthquake.
robal *n.* stream.
rodroda *ANIAL n.* hoop rolling; children's wheel and stick game. *Note:* Borrowing.
rogo *INA AL n.* cage for pigs. *See:* **karamba**.
roko *INA AL n.* cigarette. *Note:* Borrowing.
ror *INA AL n.* dance.
rorin *ANI AL n.* type of large lemon tree. *See:* **kaleilai; fungfungar**.
ru *num.* two.
ruban *ANI AL n.* type of tuna fish; (small) skipjack tuna.
ruf *INA AL n.* appearance.
rug *INA AL n.* hand of bananas. *See:* **log**.
ruis *ANIAL n.* deer.
rule *va.* argue. *See:* **jerule**.
rumei *INA AL n.* nest; hive; web; lair (of spider, bee, etc.).
runot *INA AL n.* cloth used on sago processing trough, used for filtering water.

S - s

sab *INA AL n.* traditional solo song.
sabu *INA AL n.* soap. *Note:* Borrowing.
safai *vs.* calm. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **saf-**.
saguf *ANIAL n.* knot.
sai *INA AL n.* excrement.
sakarang *adv.* now. *Note:* Borrowing.
sal *CIII vs.* wrong.
salal jurjuron *n.* eyeglasses.
salal kawowoi *ANIAL n.* mirror. *See:* **kawoiwoi**.
saliblibir *INA AL n.* curved canopy cover on a speedboat or motorboat; canopy on a modern boat. *See:* **inawan; korong**.
sam *same.* *Note:* Borrowing.
sambayang *INA AL n.* worship. *Note:* Borrowing.
sanang *CIIa vs.* happy. *Note:* Borrowing. *See:* **daian**.
sandar *va.* lean on; rest on. *Suffixing SG/3PL root:* **sanr-**. *Note:* Borrowing.
sangeleng *almost.* *Variant:* **sangel**.
sanjou *n.* tamarind tree.
sapatu *n.* shoe. *Variant:* **safatu**. *Note:* Borrowing.
sareman 1) *ANI AL n.* type of trevally fish (Djonler & Gordon forthcoming) 2) *proper.n* Sareman, an Aruese clan name.
sarfet *n.* napkin. *Note:* Borrowing.
sarit *INA AL n.* story. *See:* **takun**.
sasal *INA AL n.* bed.
sayor *INA AL n.* vegetable. *Note:* Borrowing.
se *conj.* or.
sear *INA AL n.* traditional leaf woven covering to protect oneself from the elements.
sebam *INA AL n.* type of edible seaweed. *See:* **jan₂**.
sebseber *INA AL n.* foam; saliva.
Sefafai *ANI n.* person/people from Kei.
sefal *INA AL n.* scabies.
sel *n.* type of rock edge; cliff (Gordon & Djonler

- forthcoming-a).
- selsel** *INA AL n.* outrigger cross pole.
- sem** *ANI AL n.* type of sea cucumber. *See: matfui; namat; tangolngol.*
- semal** *AL n.* bamboo.
- semal mulmulam** *n.* young bamboo shoot.
- semeng** *INA AL n.* cement. *Variant: sameng; samen.*
Note: Borrowing.
- sen** *va.* alone. *Variant: seng.*
- seng** *n.* corrugated iron tiles or roof. *Note: Borrowing.*
- sengar fui** *INA AL n.* type of edible mangrove tree fruit.
- senter** 1) *INA AL n.* flashlight. 2) *va.* illuminate; shine with a flashlight. *Note: Borrowing. See: ton.*
- ser**₁ *num.* nine.
- ser**₂ *n.* sheet, thick and large (e.g., of cloth).
- sergusin** *ANIAL n.* mushroom (edible).
- ses**₁ *INA AL n.* punting pole.
- ses**₂ *CIII vs.* severed, cut off. *See: sifan.*
- Sewer** *place.n.* Sewer; name of a Batuley village and island.
- sian** *n.* malaria-carrying mosquito, largest of the two. *Usage: Used in most Batuley villages. In Sewer, the meaning of 'tuntun' and 'sian' is reversed. See: tuntun.*
- sib** *CIII va.* plait; weave; braid (e.g., rope, mat).
- sien** *INA AL n.* below; beneath, underneath.
- sifan** *CIIa va.* sever, cut off; cross. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: sifn-. See: ses₂.*
- sigaes** *INA AL n.* grapnel anchor; anchor with grapnels, hooks, claws or plough edges. *See: fat₁.*
- sikol** *INA AL n.* school. *Note: Borrowing.*
- sil** *ANIAL n.* comb.
- silan** *INA AL n.* bunch. *Variant: silon.*
- Simerfin** *place.n.* former name of Kabalsiang, a Batuley village. *See: Kabalsien.*
- sin** 1) *prep.* toward. 2) *va.* go toward.
- sing** *ANIAL n.* arrow made of sago tree leaf (used to hunt birds).
- Sinsini** *n.* Asian people. *Note: Plural.*
- sir**₁ *ANIAL n.* type of bird, possibly the Chestnut Rail bird (*Eulabeornis*).
- sir**₂ *n.* sign to prohibit something from happening or to mark off an area protected by spirits; *sasi* (Malay for 'ban').
- sir**₃ *vs.* remember. *See: karsir.*
- siram** *ANIAL n.* axe.
- sirkai** *ANIAL n.* type of sugary fruit tree.
- sisien juer** *n.* lower cast person (system no longer in practice).
- sit** 1) *pro.* we (inclusive); first person plural inclusive pronoun. 2) *poss.* our (inclusive); first person plural inclusive possessive morpheme.
- siu** *INA AL n.* bunch of coconuts.
- sob** *INA AL n.* annual tradition. *Variant: sobla.*
- soflai** *vs.* tired. *See: bulai; boi.*
- sogoi** *vs.* quiet
- sogsogoi** (*Redup.*) *n.* silence.
- sokoi** *CI vs.* small. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: sok-.*
- sol** 1) *INA AL n.* rope. 2) *CIIa va.* tie.
- solar** *n.* diesel fuel. *See: lur; bensin; mintan. Note: Borrowing.*
- solo** *n.* matches.
- solsolan** *ANIAL n.* type of fishing spear. *See: afur; gwai₂; tam₂. Variant: ololan (used in Jursiang). Note: shorter than a 'jererer'. See: jererer.*
- solsolan mongorig** *n.* spear used specifically for spearing sea cucumber.
- som leilai** *ANIAL n.* Common Tern bird (*Sterna hirundo*).
- spid** *INA AL n.* speedboat. *See: bog; dab; kalei; letei; motor. Note: Borrowing.*
- sponj** *INA AL n.* mattress. *Note: Borrowing. See: boslak.*
- sual** *CIIb va.* grasp; hold; adhere to. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: sul-.*
- suke** *INA AL n.* fishing net, which is thrown.
- sulalebe** *n.* something (general).
- sum** 1) *INA AL n.* sore, wound. 2) *CIIa vs.* wounded. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: sub-.*
- sumen** *adv.* only.
- sumor** *ANIAL n.* east wind season. *See: afar.*
- sumsuman** *ANIAL n.* joint, articulation.
- sur** *CIIa va.* pierce; stab; prick; penetrate. *See: aes₁.*
- surat** *ANIAL n.* letter; book.
- sus** 1) *INA AL n.* difficulty; problem.
- sus je kandati** (*Parallelism*) *AL n.* life difficulties.
- sus** 2) *CIII vs.* in difficulty; unhappy.
- susu** *n.* store bought milk. *Note: Borrowing.*

T - t

- ta** *n.* shyness; shame.
- tab** 1) *INA AL n.* burden stick usually used for carrying water. 2) *CIII va.* carry on one's shoulders. *See: tudon.*
- tabag** *INA AL n.* tobacco. *Note: Borrowing.*
- tabar**₁ *INA AL n.* seed.

tabar₂ *ANIAL n.* rocky seafloor, where people dive for pearls; made of stone not coral. *See: teiabel.*

Tabar₃ *n.* Tabar, name of an island due west of Batuley Island.

tabebe *INA AL n.* entrance room; living room. *See: tubebe.*

tabiat *INAL n.* habit.

tabob *ANI AL n.* type of very large turtle. *See: gwarfagfag; kalab; marauom; marnam.*

tabol *ANI AL n.* animal; general term for any edible animal.

tabor *va.* hug. *Prefixing mutation root: -tbor.*

tabrer *va.* stand.

tael *INA AL n.* roof thatch.

taen *va.* cry.

taf *CIIa vs.* short. *See: kad taftaf.*

tafar *n.* beam (of a building).

tafer 1) *n.* father; sir. 2) *CIIa vs.* old (male). *See: gwarsir.*

taferlara *ANI AL n.* sun. *See: lara; keijin.* *Note:* Originally term of respect for sun deity; now used with or without such connotations. *Etym: tafer* ‘sir’ + *lara* ‘sun’.

taflak *n.* tablecloth. *Note:* Borrowing.

tafofo *ANIAL n.* boxfish.

tafon *ANIAL n.* bee.

tafur *INA AL n.* papeda; sago congee.

tafuren *n.* middle.

tafuur *ANI AL n.* shelled mollusc (conchshell and the animal inside).

taga *va.* raise.

tager *INA INAL CII n.* ear. *Suffixing root: tagr-.*

tager laer (*Compound*) *INA INAL n.* ear.

tagur *ANIAL n.* coconut shell.

tai *INA AL n.* sea; salt water.

takun *ANIAL n.* folktale. *See: sarit.*

tafar *va.* sit.

tale *CI va.* pull. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: tal-.*

tam₁ *INA AL n.* flesh, meat; contents, filling. *See: neyen tam.*

tam₂ *INA AL n.* prong end of a ‘solsolan’ spear. *See: solsolan; gwai₂; afur.*

tamang *n.* friend. *Note:* Borrowing.

tamata *ANIAL n.* person.

tambaroro *n.* traditional Aruese song and dance.

tan *INA AL n.* soil; land; ground.

tan gudgudoi *INA AL n.* clay. *See: bal tantan; gudoi.*

tando *INA AL n.* horn; antlers. *Variant: tandu.* *Note:* Borrowing.

Tanebrui *n.* people from Tanimbar. *Note:* Plural.

tangam *ANIAL n.* buttocks; bottom.

tangkap *CIIa va.* catch; capture. *Suffixing SG/3PL*

root: tangk-.

tangolngol *ANI AL n.* type of sea cucumber. *See: matfui; sem; namat.*

tangtangan *ANIAL n.* ring.

tanini *true; correct.*

taon *ANIAL n.* star.

taon maer *ANIAL n.* morning star. *See: feifeijal.*

tar *va.* flow. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

tara *ANIAL n.* dog.

tarai *quant.* some.

tarangan *n.* south.

Tarangnui *n.* Tarangan people; people from the south of Aru. *Note:* Plural.

tardil *INA AL n.* knot made from coconut husks used to tie several coconuts together and carry them over one’s shoulder.

taruan 1) *INA AL n.* place. 2) *va.* be in place. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

tarus *adv.* continuous, straight; continuous aspect marker. *Note:* Borrowing.

tata *ANI AL n.* older sibling. *See: kaes.* *Variant: tat.* *Note:* Borrowing.

tatan *va.* surprised.

tatawar lara *ANI AL n.* type of kingfisher bird, possibly the Rufous-bellied Kingfisher (*Dacelo gaudichaud*) and/or the Yellow-billed Kingfisher (*Syma torotoro tentelare*). *See: kafdar; nguilar.*

tatbok *n.* snail.

tau *va.* married. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.

taung *n.* year.

taung je narag (*Parallelism*) *n.* a very long time.

tawar *CIIb va.* call; yell. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: tawr-.*

tbe *CI va.* cast out; throw away, discard.

tdoan *va.* emerge, appear.

tdod *va.* look.

tdug *va.* bow; bend over.

te₁ *part.* emphasis marker; often follows question markers to add emphasis.

te₂ *INA AL n.* tea.

teiabel *n.* sea floor (general term). *Etym: tai* ‘sea’ + *abel* ‘inside’ *See: tai; abel; tabar₂.*

teire *INAL AL n.* seashore; edge of the sea. *See: bel; belsien; fasien; kulmaes.*

teituil *ANIAL n.* Irukanji jellyfish.

telefon *n.* telephone. *Note:* Borrowing.

tempo *n.* years. *Usage:* Always plural. **Tempo dir.** Those years. *Variant: temfu.* *Note:* Borrowing.

teneg *neg.* not yet; negative inceptive marker. *Variant: tene.*

terter *va.* chop up finely.
tfaren *va.* lie across.
tfinen *va.* slop; slant.
ti *adv.* already; inceptive aspect marker.
til *ANIAL n.* walking stick; pole.
tim *INA AL n.* lead.
timin *ANIAL n.* type of cucumber.
timinla *ANIAL n.* type of cucumber.
timtim *ANI AL n.* type of bird, possibly the Fairy Gerygone (*Gerygone palpebrosa*) and/or the Yellow-breasted Boatbill (*Machaerirhynchus flaviventer*).
titer *ANI AL n.* type of drum; traditional Aruese one-sided drum used during tambaroro. *See: bedug; tambaroro.*
tofal *CIIa va.* wash (e.g., clothes, bag, shoes, etc.). *Suffixing SG/3PL root: tofl-.*
togtog *INA n.* part of sago processing trough with step-like levels.
tomal *CIIa va.* chew. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: toml-.*
ton *CIIa va.* illuminate. *Usage:* Used in the sense of shinning a light on marine life while fishing in the littoral zone at night. *See: senter.*
tongar *CIIa vs.* right; correct. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: tongr-.* *Variant: tonger.* *Note:* Variant caused by devoicing.
tongei *n.* hole.
toples *n.* jar. *Note:* Borrowing.
tor *ANIAL n.* chicken.
tor gwau *ANIAL n.* chick.
tor il *ANIAL n.* rooster.
tor jin *ANIAL n.* hen.
toron *va.* shake; nod.
tu *n.* old person. *Note:* Possible borrowing.
tubabar *ANIAL n.* bedbug.
tubag *va.* to punch. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: tubk-.*

tubai *CI vs.* new.
tubal₁ *ANIAL n.* sago shoot.
tubal₂ *ANIAL n.* bowl.
tubebe *n.* kitchen. *Usage:* Used in Sewer. *See: tabebe.*
tubor *INA AL/INAL n.* stomach.
tudon *va.* carry on one's head. *See: tab.*
tuen *conj.* (in order) to.
tuf *INA AL n.* generation.
tufui *va.* grow (i.e., growth of a plant). *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**.
tug *CIIa va.* grab.
tugtug (*Redup.*) *ANIAL n.* lead fishing weight.
tuil *INA AL n.* bone.
tuir *intr va.* wash. *Note:* Always takes intransitivizing prefix **r-**. Variant of 'fuir' caused by fortition. *See: fuir.*
tul *n.* hill. *Usage:* Used in Jursiang.
tulag 1) *INA AL n.* hole; window. 2) *va.* make a hole.
tulir *INA AL n.* egg.
tulis *va.* write. *Note:* Borrowing.
tumang *n.* sago powder.
tuno *n.* cooking stones, three stones used in cooking area as support. *See: eguil.*
tuntun *ANI AL n.* small mosquito that lives in the mangroves. *Usage:* Used in most Batuley villages. In Sewer, the meaning of 'tuntun' and 'sian' is reversed. *See: sian.*
tur *prep.* with.
turug *INA AL n.* knife. *Variant: turu.*
tut *CIIa va.* pound (e.g., sago, seaweed).
tutudin *INA AL n.* back of head (nape and crown).
tutui *n.* top (e.g., of a tree).
kei tutui *n.* tree top.

U - u

ua *ANI AL n.* biological father (general term); older man; grandfather. *Usage:* Used in Kabalsiang to mean 'grandfather'. Used mainly in Kumul to mean 'father'. *See: aem; bafa; bai₁; kai₂; mam.*
uil *va.* enter. *Variant: ui.*
ula *inter.* what.
um *trans va.* brush. **Nei aum neyen.** He is brushing his teeth.
uror *va intr.* follow. *Variant: CIIa va. trans. ur.*
ur *ANIAL n.* tuber.
ur lala *ANIAL n.* sweet potato.
ur lalakai *ANI AL n.* cassava. *Variant: ur lalakei;*

ur lakai (used in Sewer).
urdubam *num.* seventy.
urdum *num.* sixty.
uref *ANIAL n.* nail, spike (for carpentry); skewer.
urfaef *num.* ten.
urkaru *num.* eighty.
urkau *num.* forty.
urlim *num.* fifty.
urser *num.* ninety.
uruf *n.* letter. *Note:* Borrowing.
urufu *num.* twenty. *Variant: urupru.*
uruplaes *num.* thirty.

utar *CIIa* va. turn. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: utr-*. **utog** va. suck.
Variant: gutar. **utog roko** va. smoke.
uteg *adv.* also; as well. *Variant: ut; eg.*

W - w

wakal *CIIa* va. lie; trick, cheat. *Suffixing SG/3PL root: wakt-*. **wayer** *CIIa* va. dry (in the sun). *Suffixing SG/3PL root: wayr-*.
wang *CIIa* va. sell. **wortel** *ANI/INA AL n.* carrot. *Note: Borrowing.*
wangar *intr* va. wake up, get up.

Y - y

yai *ANI AL n.* grandmother; older woman. *Usage:*
Used in Benjuring.

II Texts

II.1 Text One: Song

Taf Fanu Ken Ngaran

‘Let’s Carry Our Village Name’

The following is the transcription of a song written by Fidelis Djonler (33 years of age) of Kabalsiang. The song was recorded in Kabalsiang May 6th, 2014. In early 2015, Fidelis Djonler was elected the village chief (*kepala desa*) of Kabalsiang. The song tells of his desire to help build up his village and calls on the people of Aru to take pride in their cultures and communities and join him in assuring a better future for their people. He references a point in his life as a young man when he left his home village of Kabalsiang to pursue post-secondary education first in West Papua and later in the city of Manado – two places where many young Batuley men go in search of better economic and educational opportunities. He tells of how he carried his culture with him in the hope of eventually coming home to give back to his community.

- (1) *Kuban, kuban kuf jar ken ngaran.*
 ku-ban ku-ban kuf jar ken ngaran
 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT:carry Aru 3SG.POSS name
 ‘I am going, I am going carrying Aru’s name.’
- (2) *Kol letan. Kuban, kufar sikol lir,*
 kol letan ku-ban ku-far sikol l<i>r
 1SG.ACT:get ocean 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT-search school voice<3SG.POSS>
 ‘I am taking to the ocean. I’m going, in search of an education,’
- (3) *tuen kumuil.*
 tuen ku-muil
 CONJ 1SG.ACT-return
 ‘so that I come back.’
- (4) *Kuban, kuf nono i*
 ku-ban kuf nono i
 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT:carry message INDEF
namban jinang je amang,
 nam-ban jin-ang je am-ang
 3SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC mother-1SG.POSS CONJ father-1SG.POSS
 ‘I am going, I am carrying a message from my mother and my father,’

- (5) *fei jam je gwalian,*
fei jam je gwalian
 CONJ siblings¹¹³
 ‘and my brothers and sisters,’
- (6) *tuen kumuil, kufangon sit fanu.*
tuen ku-muil ku-fangon sit fanu
 CONJ 1SG.ACT-return 1SG.ACT-build 1PL.INCL.POSS village
 ‘so that I come back and build up our village.’
- (7) *Hei, jam je gwalian!*
Hei jam je gwalian!
 INTERJ siblings
 ‘Hey, brothers and sisters!’
- (8) *Mimai! Mimai miurung!*
mi-mai mi-mai mi-ur-ung
 2PL.ACT-come 2PL.ACT-come 2PL.ACT-follow-1SG.PAT
 ‘Come! Come follow me!’
- (9) *Taban, talar, taf fanu*
ta-ban ta-lar taf fanu
 1PL.INCL.ACT-go 1PL.INCL.ACT-sail 1PL.INCL.ACT:carry village
ken ngaran.
ken ngaran
 3SG.POSS name
 ‘Let’s go, let’s sail, let’s carry our village name.’
- (10) *Kuban, kuf nono i*
ku-ban kuf nono i
 1SG.ACT-go 1SG.ACT:carry message INDEF
namban jinang je amang,
nam-ban jin-ang je am-ang
 3SG.ACT:cause/do-SRC mother-1SG.POSS CONJ father-1SG.POSS
 ‘I am going, I am carrying a message from my mother and my father,’
- } x 2

¹¹³ *Jam je gwalian* ‘siblings’ is a parallelism. Refer to §4.10.2 for a discussion of the semantic and grammatical properties of parallelisms.

(11) *fei jam je gwalian,*
fei jam je gwalian
 CONJ siblings
 ‘and my brothers and sisters,’

(12) *tuen kumuil, kufangon sit fanu.*
tuen ku-muil ku-fangon sit fanu
 CONJ 1SG.ACT-return 1SG.ACT-build 1PL.INCL.POSS village
 ‘so that I come back and build up our village.’

(13) *Hei, jam je gwalian!*
Hei jam je gwalian!
 INTERJ siblings
 ‘Hey, brothers and sisters!’

(14) *Mimai! Mimai miurung!*
mi-mai mi-mai mi-ur-ung
 2PL.ACT-come 2PL.ACT-come 2PL.ACT-follow-1SG.PAT
 ‘Come! Come follow me!’

(15) *Taban, talar, taf fanu*
ta-ban ta-lar taf fanu
 1PL.INCL.ACT-go 1PL.INCL.ACT-sail 1PL.INCL.ACT:carry village
ken ngaran.
ken ngaran
 3SG.POSS name
 ‘Let’s go, let’s sail, let’s carry our village name.’

} x 2

x 2

II.2 Text Two: Narrative

The Frog Story

The following is a transcription of the Batuley telling of the picture book “Frog, where are you?” by Mayer (1969). The story was told by Fidelis Djonler (33 years of age) of Kabalsiang and was recorded in Kabalsiang May 6th, 2014.

- (1) *Fis, gwau nane atur ken tara dait gweingarngar*
 fis gwau nane a-tur ken tara da-it gweingarngar
 night child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-see frog
ien am toples ken abel.
 i-en am toples ken abel
 INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:be.at jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘At night, there was child with his dog, they were looking at a frog that was inside a jar.’
- (2) *Gwau nane atur ken tara din sasal,*
 gwau nane a-tur ken tara din sasal
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT:sleep/lie.down bed
 ‘The child and his dog were sleeping on the bed,’
- (3) *ja gweingarngar nane aetor alfei toples ken abel.*
 ja gweingarngar nane a-etor a-lfei toples ken abel
 CONJ frog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump 3SG.ACT-exit jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘then the frog jumped out of the jar.’
- (4) *Mererei, gwau nan atur ken tara dawangar,*
 mererei gwau nan a-tur ken tara da-wangar
 early.morning child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-wake.up
 ‘Early in the morning, the child and his dog woke up,’
- (5) *ja dait toples ken abel,*
 ja da-it toples ken abel
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-see jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘and they looked inside the jar,’
- (6) *eng gweingarngar ner aetor alfai.*
 eng gweingarngar ner a-etor a-lfai
 CONJ frog NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump 3SG.ACT-exit
 ‘but the frog had jumped out.’

- (7) *Ja darbar fei id sasal,*
 ja da-r-bar fei id sasal
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-INTR-leap SRC 3PL.POSS bed
 ‘Then they leapt from their bed,’
- (8) *eg gwau nane nal ken sapatu fin i*
 eg gwau nane nal ken sapatu fin i
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:get 3SG.POSS shoe side/part INDEF
ataga angei fufun, nam ken fufun
 a-taga a-ngei fufun nam ken fufun
 3SG.ACT-raise 3SG.ACT-toward top 3SG.ACT:cause/do 3SG.POSS top
angei sien eg atdod sapatu ken abel,
 a-ngei sien eg a-tdod sapatu ken abel
 3SG.ACT-toward below GOAL 3SG.ACT-look shoe 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘then the child took one of his shoes, lifted it up, and tipped it up-side-down in order to see inside the shoe,’
- (9) *eng sapatu ken abel ales.*
 eng sapatu ken abel ales
 CONJ shoe 3SG.POSS inside empty
 ‘but the shoe was empty.’
- (10) *Ja tara nane, ken tara nam gul taber*
 ja tara nane ken tara nam gul taber
 CONJ dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT:cause/do head head
auil jel toples ken abel,
 a-uil jel toples ken abel
 3SG.ACT-enter toward jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘Then the dog, his dog put his head inside the jar,’
- (11) *eg ait komo moni amei. Ales.*
 eg a-it komo moni a-mei ales
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-see NEG something 3SG.ACT-stay empty
 ‘then he saw that nothing was in it. It was empty.’
- (12) *Ja gwau nane afli tulag,*
 ja gwau nane a-fli tulag
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-open:RSYL hole
 ‘Then the child opened the window,’

- (13) *eng ken tara gul taber naontui toples abel, afol jel*
eng ken tara gul taber naontui toples abel a-afol jel
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog head head still jar inside 3SG.ACT-ascend toward
tulag ken fufun.
tulag ken fufun
 hole 3SG.POSS top
 ‘and his dog’s head was still in the glass jar, (and) he [the dog] climbed up to the window.’

- (14) *Ja gwau nane am tulag,*
ja gwau nane am tulag
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:be.at hole
 ‘Then the child was at the window,’

- (15) *eng ken tara arbar af toples, gul taber naontui*
eng ken tara a-r-bar af toples gul taber naontui
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-INTR-leap 3SG.ACT:carry jar head head still
toples ken abel.
toples ken abel
jar 3SG.POSS inside
 ‘and his dog jumped with the jar, his head still in the jar.’

- (16) *Arbar jel sien.*
a-r-bar jel sien
 3SG.ACT-INTR-leap toward below
 ‘He leapt to the ground.’

- (17) *Gwau nan alug jel sien,*
gwau nan a-lug jel sien
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-descend toward below
 ‘The child got down,’

- (18) *eng nal ken tara afangaltugun,*
eng nal ken tara a-fangaltug-un
 CONJ 3SG.ACT:get 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-hug-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘then he took his dog and hugged him,’

- (19) *ja ken tara agbel nungei.*
ja ken tara a-gbel nungei
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-lick face
 ‘and then his dog licked his face.’

- (20) *Gwau nane atur ken tara dajamor dabrai*
 gwau nane a-tur ken tara da-jamor da-brai
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-walk 3PL.ACT-call.out
dafar gweingarngar nane,
 da-far gweingarngar nane
 3PL.ACT-search frog PROX.SG.ANI
 ‘The child with his dog walked, calling out, looking for the frog.’
- (21) *ja ken tara atalar eg abrai.*
 ja ken tara a-talar eg a-brai
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-sit CONJ 3SG.ACT-call.out
 ‘then his dog sat down and called out.’
- (22) *Abrei afar gweingarngar nane ut.*
 a-brei a-far gweingarngar nane ut
 3SG.ACT-call.out 3SG.ACT-search frog PROX.SG.ANI also
 ‘He called out, looking for the frog as well.’
- (23) *Tafon tarai dam id rumei damloi,*
 tafon tarai dam id rumei da-mloi
 bee some 3PL.ACT:be.at 3PL.POSS nest 3PL.ACT-suspend
 ‘Some bees were in their hive hovering in the air.’
- (24) *ja kei ien ken faten tulag.*
 ja kei i-en ken faten tulag
 CONJ wood/tree INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.POSS stick hole
 ‘and there was a hole in a tree trunk.’
- (25) *Gwau il nane, ait alangan tulag i,*
 gwau il nane a-it a-langan tulag i
 child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT-acquire/meet hole INDEF
 ‘The boy looked into a hole,’
- (26) *ja atdod eng abrai.*
 ja a-tdod eng a-brai
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-look CONJ 3SG.ACT-call.out
 ‘and he looked (inside) and called out.’

- (27) *Abrei atawar far gweingarngar nane.*
a-brei a-tawar far gweingarngar nane
3SG.ACT-call.out 3SG.ACT-call search frog PROX.SG.ANI
‘He called out, calling, looking for the frog.’
- (28) *Eng tara nane ait alangan tafon rumei*
eng tara nane a-it a-langan tafon rumei
CONJ dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT-acquire/meet bee nest
amloi.
a-mloi
3SG.ACT-suspend
‘And the dog looked trying to get the beehive that was hanging there.’
- (29) *Ja ataga af nungei.*
ja a-tagat af nungei
CONJ 3SG.ACT-raise 3SG.ACT:carry face
‘Then he lifted his face up.’
- (30) *Gwau il nane abebar, eg ait karta*
gwau il nane a-bebar eg a-it karta
child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-afraid CONJ 3SG.ACT-see small.rodent
ien aetor fei tulag one,
i-en a-etor fei tulag one
INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-jump SRC hole PROX.SG.INA
‘The boy was frightened because he saw a small rodent jump out of the hole,’
- (31) *eng tara nane nag afol kei nane,*
eng tara nane nag a-afol kei nane
CONJ dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT-ascend wood/tree PROX.SG.ANI
eg ait, nag nal tafon rumei one.
eg a-it nag nal tafon rumei one
CONJ 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT:get bee nest PROX.SG.INA
‘and the dog wanted to climb the tree in order to see, (because) he wanted to get at the beehive.’
- (32) *Karta nane am tulag faef,*
karta nane am tulag faef
small.rodent PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:be.at hole mouth<3SG.POSS>
‘There was a rat at the entrance of the hole,’

- (33) *eng tara nane ajan kei nane joi tafon*
eng tara nane a-jan kei nane joi tafon
CONJ dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-shake wood/tree PROX.SG.ANI CONJ bee
rumei er afan,
rumei er a-fan
nest NVIS.SG.INA 3SG.ACT-fall
‘and the dog shook the tree until the beehive fell,’
- (34) *ja tafon je dani dalfai.*
ja tafon je da-ni da-lfai
CONJ bee PL 3PL.ACT-fly 3PL.ACT-exit
‘then the bees flew away.’
- (35) *Gwau il nane afol jel kei faten eg*
gwau il nane a-afol jel kei faten eg
child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree stick CONJ
atdod kei ken tulag.
a-tdod kei ken tulag
3SG.ACT-see wood/tree 3PL.POSS hole
‘The boy climbed up the tree branch and looked inside the hole in the tree.’
- (36) *Gwau il nane afan,*
gwau il nane a-fan
child male PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-fall
‘The boy fell,’
- (37) *tafon je dani dal ken fufun,*
tafon je da-ni dal ken fufun
bee PL 3PL.ACT-fly 3PL.ACT:get 3SG.POSS top
‘the bees flew above him,’
- (38) *eng man ien atdoan fei kei nane ken*
eng man i-en a-tdoan fei kei nane ken
CONJ bird INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-emerge SRC wood/tree PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.POSS
tulag.
tulag
hole
‘and a bird appeared from out of the hole in the tree.’

(39) *Ken tara alai, eg tafon din dagaun.*
 ken tara a-lai eg tafon din da-ga-un
 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-run CONJ bee PROX.PL 3PL.ACT-hunt/chase-3SG.ANI.PAT
 ‘His dog ran because the bees were chasing him.’

(40) *Ja gwau nane arkalaglagen, eg man*
 ja gwau nane a-r-ka<lag>lag-en eg man
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-3SG.ANI.PAT CONJ bird
nane ani nal ken fufun.
 nane a-ni nal ken fufun
 PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-fly 3SG.ACT: get 3SG.POSS top
 ‘Then the child hid himself because the bird flew above him.’

(41) *Nei gwau nane, arkalaglagen am kum*
 nei gwau nane a-r-ka<lag>lag-en am kum
 3SG child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-INTR-<RDP>hide-3SG.ANI.PAT 3SG.ACT:be.at stone
ken juei.
 ken juei
 3SG.POSS side
 ‘He, the child, hid beside a rock.’

(42) *Gwau nan afol jel kum ken fufun eg*
 gwau nan a-afol jel kum ken fufun eg
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward stone 3SG.POSS top GOAL
abrei afar gweingarngar nane ...
 a-brei a-far gweingarngar nane ...
 3SG.ACT-call.out 3SG.ACT-search frog PROX.SG.ANI
abrei far gweingarngar ner,
 a-brei far gweingarngar ner
 3SG.ACT-call.out search frog NVIS.SG.ANI
 ‘The child climbed to the top of the rock in order to call out after the frog ... [restart] call out after that frog.’

(43) *eng ken tara am kum ken juei eg atdod*
 eng ken tara am kum ken juei eg a-tdod
 CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT:be.at stone 3SG.POSS side CONJ 3SG.ACT-look
angei kum ken sien.
 a-ngei kum ken sien
 3SG.ACT-toward stone 3SG.POSS below
 ‘then his dog was at the side of the rock in order to look under the rock.’

- (44) *Eng gwau nane afol jel kum ken fufun*
eng gwau nane a-afol jel kum ken fufun
CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward stone 3SG.POSS top
eng asual ruis ien ken tandu je.
eng a-sual ruis i-en ken tandu je
CONJ 3SG.ACT-grasp deer INDEF-3SG.ANI 3SG.POSS horn PL
‘Then the child climbed up to the top of the rock, then he grabbed hold of a deer’s antlers.’
- (45) *Gwau nane afol jel ruis nan gul taber ken*
gwau nane a-afol jel ruis nan gul taber ken
child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward deer PROX.SG.ANI head head 3SG.POSS
langlangei je id laglagar,
langlangei je id lagar ~lagar
branch PL 3PL.POSS RDP~gap
‘The child climbed up to the spaces between the deer’s antlers,’
- (46) *eng ken tara ajamor angei kum ken fin i.*
eng ken tara a-jamor a-ngei kum ken fin i
CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.ACT-walk 3SG.ACT-toward stone 3SG.POSS side/partINDEF
‘then his dog walked over toward the side of the rock.’
- (47) *Ruis ner af gwau ner alai,*
ruis ner af gwau ner a-lai
deer NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:carry child NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-run
‘The deer carried the boy away running,’
- (48) *ja ken tara eg alai aurui.*
ja ken tara eg a-lai a-ur-ui
CONJ 3SG.POSS dog also 3SG.ACT-run 3SG.ACT-follow-3PL.PAT
‘and his dog also ran after them.’
- (49) *Daf jel sel ken madin, ken fajurjurin,*
daf jel sel ken madin ken fa<jur>jurin
3PL.ACT:carry toward rock.edge.ko 3SG.POSS side 3SG.POSS <RDP>rock.edge
‘They went as far as the edge of the point, the small rock edge,’
- (50) *ja ruis arboi,*
ja ruis a-r-boi
CONJ deer 3SG.ACT-INTR-stop
‘then the deer stopped,’

- (51) *eng gwau ner atur ken tara dafan.*
eng gwau ner a-tur ken tara da-fan
CONJ child NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-fall
‘then the child and his dog fell.’
- (52) *Ruis ait angei sien,*
ruis a-it a-ngei sien
deer 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT-toward below
‘The deer looked down,’
- (53) *eng gwau ner atur ken tara dafan*
eng gwau ner a-tur ken tara da-fan
CONJ child NVIS.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-fall
din darkoikoi jel gwayor abel.
din da-r-koi~koi jel gwayor abel
3PL.ACT:sleep/lie.down 3PL.ACT-INTR-RDP~press toward water inside
‘and the child and his dog fell (so that) they were lying down on top of each other in the water.’
- (54) *Gwau nan atudon ken tara dam gwayor*
gwau nan a-tudon ken tara dam gwayor
child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-carry.on.head 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT:be.at water
abel,
abel
inside
‘The child held his dog on his shoulders (and) they sat in the water,’
- (55) *eng afeisir ken tara eg ten nam gongon.*
eng a-feisir ken tara eg ten nam gongon
CONJ 3SG.ACT-inform 3SG.POSS dog GOAL NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do commotion
‘then he made sure his dog knew not to make any noise.’
- (56) *Nei arengar moni ... dait far moni.*
nei a-rengar moni ... da-it far moni
3SG 3SG.ACT-hear something 3PL.ACT-see search something
‘He heard something ... they saw something.’
- (57) *Ja gwau nane atalar jel kei ken juei,*
ja gwau nane a-talar jel kei ken juei
CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-sit toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS side
‘And the child sat down toward the side of the tree’

- (58) *eng ait angei muir eng ken tara ... ken tara*
eng a-it a-ngei muir eng ken tara ... ken tara
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-see 3SG.ACT-toward back CONJ 3SG.POSS dog 3SG.POSS dog
anaen.
a-naen
 3SG.ACT-swim
 ‘then he looked back and his dog ... his dog was swimming.’
- (59) *Ja atawer nag, “Ten nam*
ja a-taw<e>r nag ten nam
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-call<3SG.ANI.PAT> 3SG.ACT:want/say NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do
gongon!” nam lim aur jel faef.
gongon nam lim aur jel faef
 commotion 3SG.ACT:cause/do hand digit toward mouth<3SG.POSS>
 ‘then he said to him, “Don’t make any noise!” putting his finger to his mouth.’
- (60) *En tanda tuen teneg nam gongon.*
en tanda tuen teneg nam gongon
 MED.SG.INA sign CONJ NEG.INCEP 3SG.ACT:cause/do commotion
 ‘That was a sign (to show him) not to make any noise.’
- (61) *Tara afol jel kei ken fufun,*
tara a-afol jel kei ken fufun
 dog 3SG.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The dog climbed to the top of the log,’
- (62) *gwau nane nag afol, je barang*
gwau nane nag a-afol je barang
 child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT:want/say 3SG.ACT-ascend CONJ CONJ
komo jadi.
komo jadi
 NEG happen
 ‘the child wanted to climb, but the problem was he could not.’
- (63) *Tara nen afol jel ken fufun ja*
tara nen a-afol jel ken fufun ja
 dog MED.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-ascend toward 3SG.POSS top CONJ
gwau afol jel kei ken fufun.
gwau a-afol jel kei ken fufun
 child 3SG.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The dog climbed up on top of the log then the child climbed up on top of the log.’

- (64) Gwau nane eg afol jel kei ken fufun.
 gwau nane eg a-afol jel kei ken fufun
 child PROX.SG.ANI also 3SG.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The child also climbed up on top of the log.’

- (65) *Ja nin arfagen kei ken fufun*
ja nin a-r-fagen kei ken fufun
 CONJ 3SG.ACT:sleep/lie.down 3SG.ACT-INTR-lie.prone wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
eng dait dangei sien gweingarngar ruei dam
eng da-it da-ngei sien gweingarngar ru-ei dam
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-see 3PL.ACT-toward below frog two-3PL.ANI 3PL.ACT:be.at
sien, dam kei ken juei.
sien dam kei ken juei
 below 3PL.ACT:be.at wood/tree 3SG.POSS side
 ‘Then he lay face down on top of the log and saw two frogs down below, next to the log.’

- (66) *Ja gwau nane atur ken tara datalar,*
ja gwau nane a-tur ken tara da-talar
 CONJ child PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with 3SG.POSS dog 3PL.ACT-sit
 ‘Then the boy and his dog sat down,’

- (67) *eg datatan eg gweingarngar din komo ruei*
eg da-tatan eg gweingarngar din komo ru-ei
 CONJ 3PL.ACT-surprised CONJ frog PROX.PL NEG two-3PL.ANI
eng ... ken ... gweingarngar dini id gogobu je.
eng ... ken ... gweingarngar dini id gogobu je
 CONJ 3SG.POSS frog PROX.PL 3PL.POSS child PL
 ‘and they were surprised that the frogs were not just two (there were not just two frogs) but ... his ... [restart] the frogs had children.’

- (68) Lofkui.
 lofk-ui
 many:SG/3PL-3PL.PAT
 ‘There were many of them.’

- (69) *Daetor fei gurgur abel.*
da-etor fei gur~gur abel
 3PL.ACT-jump SRC RDP~grass inside
 ‘They jumped out from the grass.’

- (70) *Ja tara nane atur gwau nane, gwau nane*
ja tara nane a-tur gwau nane gwau nane
 CONJ dog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.ACT-with child PROX.SG.ANI child PROX.SG.ANI
nam gweingarngar ien jel lim.
nam gweingarngar i-en jel lim
 3SG.ACT:cause/do frog INDEF-3SG.ANI toward hand/arm
 ‘Then the dog was with the child, the child took a frog in his hand.’
- (71) *Ja ataga af lim, angei muir eg*
ja a-tagaf af lim a-ngei muir eg
 CONJ 3SG.ACT-raise 3SG.ACT:carry hand/arm 3SG.ACT-toward back CONJ
gweingarngar nan ken gwalian je.
gweingarngar nan ken gwalian je
 frog PROX.SG.ANI 3SG.POSS sibling PL
 ‘Then he lifted up his hand, turned behind and toward the frogs siblings.’
- (72) *Ja gweingarngar dir dafol jel kei ken fufun,*
ja gweingarngar dir da-afol jel kei ken fufun
 CONJ frog NVIS.PL 3PL.ACT-ascend toward wood/tree 3SG.POSS top
 ‘The the frogs climbed up on top of the log,’
- (73) *eng dal kam etun dam sien eg*
eng dal kam et-un dam sien eg
 CONJ 3PL.ACT:get 1PL.EXCL.POSS one-3SG.ANI 3PL.ACT:be.at below CONJ
dait dauror ... gwau nane tur id gwalian
da-it da-uror ... gwau nane tur id gwalian
 3PL.ACT-see 3PL.ACT-follow child PROX.SG.ANI with 3PL.POSS sibling
ien dafonfon fei tara ner.
i-en da<fon>fon fei tara ner.
 INDEF-3SG.ANI <RDP>3PL.ACT:carry-3SG.ANI.PAT CONJ dog NVIS.SG.ANI
 ‘and they made one stay below and they looked out (at them) ... the boy with one of their siblings that was being carried with the dog.’
- (74) *Jadi.*
jadi
 happen
 ‘The end.’

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